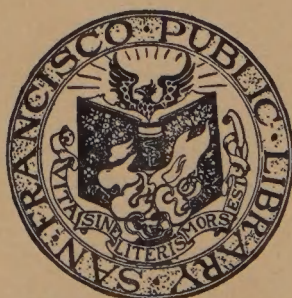


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A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM

BY THOMAS KIRKUP

FIFTH EDITION

REVISED AND LARGELY REWRITTEN

BY

EDWARD R. PEASE

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK
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PREFACE

MR. THOMAS KIRKUP, the author of this book, in the Preface to the fourth edition published shortly before his death, described its aim as twofold, to set forth the leading phases of historic Socialism and to attempt a criticism and interpretation of the movement as a whole.

When, at the request of the publishers, I undertook to prepare the present edition it seemed to me that the chapters devoted to the latter of these purposes might with advantage be greatly condensed. Very few English works explanatory of Socialism were available for the serious student when Mr. Kirkup published the first edition in 1892. At present books by leading Socialists, such as J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Philip Snowden, M.P., and innumerable pamphlets, periodicals, papers, by Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Robert Blatchford, and many others, give an exposition of Socialism on the authority of the men who are entitled to speak for it.

I have therefore greatly condensed the chapters written by Mr. Kirkup for the purpose of interpreting Socialism to his readers.

Judged as a history the earlier editions of this work seem to me to be deficient in their treatment of Socialism in England, which after all is the Socialism most generally of interest to the English reader. Mr. Kirkup was a learned student of books, but he took no part in the English Socialist movement, and I cannot help thinking

that he regarded as of small account anything not recorded in works to be found in a well-appointed library. However this may be, his History contained only a slight sketch of modern English Socialism, and this part of the book I have greatly expanded.

In the present edition the first nine chapters are virtually unaltered. I have neither the knowledge nor the ability to improve upon Mr. Kirkup's history of primitive Socialists, and the beginnings of the modern movement. In Chapters X. (Revolution in Russia), and XI. (Anarchism and Syndicalism), the earlier historical passages are mainly taken from the previous edition, whilst the later portion is new and the whole has been rearranged. Chapters XII. (The Progress of Socialism Abroad), XIII. (The Modern International) and XIV. (The English School of Socialism) are almost entirely new. Chapters XV. (A General View of Socialism) and XVI. (Conclusion) consist mainly of parts of six chapters in the previous edition written by Mr. Kirkup, but selected and rearranged by his editor. The result is perhaps not quite satisfactory, but it seemed impossible either to reprint the whole, or to omit the many valuable paragraphs which are here reproduced.

Readers of the following pages will be interested to know somewhat more of the author whose interesting personality is revealed in occasional passages throughout the volume.

Thomas Kirkup, the son of a Northumbrian shepherd, was born near Wooler in 1844, but when he was eight years old his father removed to Kirk Yetholm, near Kelso, on the Scottish side of the Cheviots, though only a mile or two from the English border, and he was brought up entirely under Scottish influence. When very young he himself tended sheep on Cheviot pastures, but his marked abilities soon gave him other opportunities. He became a pupil teacher in the village school, and thence passed to

Edinburgh University, where, after a distinguished career, he took the degree of M.A. and gained a travelling scholarship, which enabled him to continue his studies at Göttingen, Berlin, Tübingen, Geneva, and Paris. Afterwards he trained for the ministry in one of the Scottish Presbyterian churches, but giving up the idea of following that calling, he became connected with the publishing firm of W. & R. Chambers, for which he acted for many years as educational adviser, editing during that period many successful school-books.

In 1883 he removed from Edinburgh to London, in or near which he lived for the rest of his life. In 1891 he married a Wigtownshire lady, at that time a widow with two daughters, of whom only one survives, now the wife of Mr. Henry Stead, eldest surviving son of the late Mr. W. T. Stead. In London Mr. Kirkup retained for a considerable time his connection with the firm of Chambers. He also contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and other encyclopædias, and occasionally wrote for the public press. His works include *An Inquiry into Socialism* (Longmans, 1887, 1888, and 1907), *The History of Socialism* (Black, 1892, 1900, 1906, and 1909), and the *Primer of Socialism* (Black, 1908 and 1910). In 1910 his own university conferred on him the honorary degree of Lit.D.

“Kirkup, the still too-little-known author of that charming book *An Inquiry into Socialism*,” as he is styled by the celebrated Dutch economist, Dr. Pierson, was much esteemed abroad as well as at home. He was emphatically a student living a retired life, yet fond of congenial society, always delighted to talk with any one on all serious subjects, as well as to mingle in homely and unpretending conversation. To general society he was indifferent, but even there his genial smile and easy manners made him a great favourite. The friends of his student days he retained

firmly to the last, and it was seldom that one of them passed through London without paying him a prolonged visit. He died on the 23rd May 1912, and is survived by his widow and four children.

It is perhaps fair to readers of the chapter on English Socialism that I should briefly describe my own connection with the movement, the part I have taken in it, and consequently the standpoint from which I write.

The series of meetings in the autumn of 1883, which led to the formation of the Fabian Society, were held in my rooms at 17 Osnaburgh Street, Regent's Park. I became Honorary Secretary of the Society for a few months in 1886, but left London for Newcastle-on-Tyne in the summer of that year. For three years I worked there as a cabinet-maker in a co-operative factory, became a member of the Alliance Cabinet-makers' Union, and took an active part both in the propaganda of Socialism, a novelty in Newcastle when I went there, and in founding the National Labour Federation, a forerunner, on wrong lines, of the Federation of Trade Unions. In 1889 I returned to London, and early in 1890 I became the first paid Secretary of the Fabian Society, a post I still hold. I have also been continuously an elected member of its Executive Committee. I watched, though I did not take part in, the formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. In 1899 I was a member of the preliminary Committees which prepared the scheme for the Labour Representation Committee, the original name of the Labour Party. I was appointed to represent the Fabian Society on its first Executive, and have been a member of it ever since. In fact, I believe I have only once been absent from an Executive meeting; and I represented the Party on the Board of Directors of the *Daily Citizen* for the first few months of its career.

I write, therefore, from the standpoint of the Fabian Society and the Labour Party, with a full knowledge of those organisations. With the Independent Labour Party I have been in close touch since its formation, and especially in recent years when the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. have been working in alliance. I cannot claim to possess inside knowledge of the Social Democratic Federation, or its successor, the British Socialist Party, and it would be unfair to pretend that I can write of their policy with the complete impartiality of one who has never been in conflict with it. It is possible that I have devoted too much space to the Fabian Society, but I must plead that it is impossible to write of a propagandist movement with the knowledge of an insider and at the same time the detachment of an outsider. And to this extent I claim justification. I am convinced that historians in the future will recognise, as indeed they are beginning to realise already, that the successor to Karl Marx in the leadership of Socialist thought belongs to Sidney Webb. Marx perceived that industry must be the business of the State, but he did not foresee how this could come about. This has been the work of the English School of Socialism, which has for long prevailed here, which, imported by Herr Bernstein, is capturing Germany under the name of Revisionism, which is at last creating a Socialist Party in America, and indeed is gaining ground everywhere; and this school of Socialism is for the most part the creation of one man only, Sidney Webb.

E. R. P.

LIMPSFIELD, SURREY,
October 1913.

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A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM

INTRODUCTION

THOUGH much has been said and written about socialism for many years, it still remains a questionable name which awakens in the mind of the reader doubt, perplexity, and contradiction.

But there can be no question that it is a growing power throughout the world. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the most intelligent and the best organised working-men of all civilised countries are passing over to it. The opinions which are being accepted by the foremost of the working-classes to-day will in all probability have the same attraction for their less advanced brethren to-morrow. It is a subject, however, which concerns all classes, and it is forcing to the front a wide group of problems which are every day becoming more urgent.

In view of this there is only one right and safe course ; we should seek to know the truth about socialism. The discontent which tends to disturbance and revolution can be removed only by satisfying the legitimate needs and aspirations of those who suffer.

We all know that the propaganda of socialism has been attended with intemperate and violent language with wild opinions which are often inconsistent with the first principles of social order, with revolutionary outbreaks leading to bloodshed, desolation and long-continued unrest and suspicion. These things are greatly to be deplored. But we shall be wise if we regard them as symptoms of wide-spread and deep-seated social disease. The best way to cure such disease is to study and remove the causes of it. No physician will have any success in combating a malady if he content himself with suppressing its symptoms.

For the study of socialism two things are essential on the part of the reader—good-will and the open mind. Socialism has at least a most powerful provisional claim on our good-will, that it professes to represent the cause of the sufferers in the world's long agony, of the working-classes, of women, and of the down-trodden nations and races. If it can make any solid contribution in such a far-reaching cause it has the strongest right to be heard.

Need we say that no new movement like socialism can be understood or appreciated without some measure of the open mind? In the course of history it has been proved over and over again that established ideas and institutions are not always in the right in every respect, and that novel opinions, though presented in extravagant and intemperate language, are not always entirely wrong. Even the most prejudiced reader will do well to consider that a cause which now numbers

millions of intelligent adherents, for which men have died and gladly suffered imprisonment and privation of every kind, may contain elements of truth and of well-justified hope for the future.

Above all things, it is essential to remember that socialism is not a stereotyped system of dogma. It is a movement which springs out of a vast and only partially shapen reality. It is therefore living and liable to change. It has a history on which we can look back; but it is above all things a force of the present and the future, and its influence in the future for good or evil will depend on how we the men of the present relate ourselves to it.

On the one hand, it would be a great wrong if we encouraged vain and delusive expectations; but it would be a wrong even greater, on the other hand, if from whim or prejudice or pessimism we did anything that might be an obstacle to truth and progress. In a subject so momentous the only right course is to eschew passion and prejudice, and to follow truth with goodwill and an open mind.

The word 'socialism' appears to have been first used in *The Poor Man's Guardian* in 1833. In 1835, a society, which received the grandiloquent name of the Association of all Classes of all Nations, was founded under the auspices of Robert Owen; and the words socialist and socialism became current during the discussions which arose in connection with it.¹ As Owen and his school had no esteem for the political

¹ Holyoake, *History of Co-operation*, vol. i. p. 210, ed. 1875.

reform of the time, and laid all emphasis on the necessity of social improvement and reconstruction, it is obvious how the name came to be recognised as suitable and distinctive. The term was soon afterwards borrowed from England, as he himself tells us, by a distinguished French writer, Reybaud, in his well-known work the *Réformateurs modernes*, in which he discussed the theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen. Through Reybaud it soon gained wide currency on the Continent, and is now the accepted world-historic name for one of the most remarkable movements of the nineteenth century.

The name was thus first applied in England to Owen's theory of social reconstruction, and in France to those also of Saint-Simon and Fourier. The best usage has always connected it with the views of these men, and with the cognate opinions which have since appeared. But the word is used with a great variety of meaning, not only in popular speech and by politicians, but even by economists and learned critics of socialism. There is a growing tendency to regard as socialistic any interference with property undertaken by society on behalf of the poor, the limitation of the principle of *laissez-faire* in favour of the suffering classes, radical social reform which disturbs the present system of private property as regulated by free competition. It is probable enough that the word will be permanently used to express the change in practice and opinion indicated by these phrases, as a general name for the strong reaction that has now set in

against the overstrained individualism and one-sided freedom which date from the end of the eighteenth century. The application is neither precise nor accurate; but it is use and wont that determine the meaning of words, and this seems to be the tendency of use and wont.

Even economic writers differ greatly in the meaning they attach to the word. As socialism has been most powerful and most studied on the Continent, it may be interesting to compare the definitions given by some leading French and German economists. The great German economist Roscher defines it as including 'those tendencies which demand a greater regard for the common weal than consists with human nature.'¹ Adolf Held says that 'we may define as socialistic every tendency which demands the subordination of the individual will to the community.'² Janet more precisely defines it as follows: 'We call socialism every doctrine which teaches that the State has a right to correct the inequality of wealth which exists among men, and to legally establish the balance by taking from those who have too much in order to give to those who have not enough, and that in a permanent manner, and not in such and such a particular case—a famine, for instance, a public calamity, etc.'³ Laveleye explains it thus: 'In the first place, every socialistic doctrine aims at introducing greater equality in

¹ Quoted by Adolf Held, *Sozialismus, Sozialdemokratie, und sozial Politik*, p. 30.

² *Ibid.* p. 29.

³ *Les origines du socialisme contemporain*, p. 67.

social conditions; and in the second place, at realising those reforms by the law or the State.'¹ Von Scheel simply defines it as the 'economic philosophy of the suffering classes.'²

Of all these definitions it can only be said that they more or less faithfully reflect current opinion as to the nature of socialism. They are either too vague or they are misleading, and they quite fail to bring out the clear and strongly marked characteristics that distinguish the phenomena to which the name of socialism is properly applied. To say that socialism exacts a greater regard for the common weal than is compatible with human nature is to pass sentence on the movement, not to define it. In all ages of the world, and under all forms and tendencies of government and of social evolution, the will of the individual has been subordinated to the will of society, often unduly so.

It is also most misleading to speak as if socialism must proceed from the State as we know it. The early socialism proceeded from private effort and experiment. A great deal of the most notorious socialism of the present day aims not only at subverting the existing State in every form, but all the existing political and social institutions. The most powerful and most philosophic, that of Karl Marx, aimed at superseding the existing Governments by a vast international combination of the workers of all nations, without distinction of creed, colour, or nationality.

¹ *Le socialisme contemporain*, p. iv.

² Schönberg's *Handbuch der pol. Oekonomie*, art. 'Socialism.'

Still more objectionable, however, is the tendency not unfrequently shown to identify socialism with a violent and lawless revolutionary spirit. As sometimes used, 'socialism' means nothing more nor less than the most modern form of the revolutionary spirit with a suggestion of anarchy and dynamite. This is to confound the essence of the movement with an accidental feature more or less common to all great innovations. Every new thing of any moment, whether good or evil, has its revolutionary stage, in which it disturbs and upsets the accepted beliefs and institutions. The Protestant Reformation was for more than a century and a half the occasion of civil and international trouble and bloodshed. The suppression of American slavery could not be effected without a tremendous civil war. There was a time when the opinions comprehended under the name of 'liberalism' had to fight to the death for toleration; and representative government was at one time a revolutionary innovation. The fact that a movement is revolutionary generally implies only that it is new, that it is disposed to exert itself by strong methods, and is calculated to make great changes. It is an unhappy feature of most great changes that they have been attended with the exercise of force, but that is because the powers in possession have generally attempted to suppress them by the exercise of force.

In point of fact socialism is one of the most elastic and protean phenomena of history, varying according to the time and circumstances in which it appears, and with the character and opinions and institutions of the

people who adopt it. Such a movement cannot be condemned or approved *en bloc*. Most of the current formulæ to which it has been referred for praise or censure are totally erroneous and misleading. Yet in the midst of the various theories that go by the name of 'socialism' there is a kernel of principle that is common to them all. That principle is of an economic nature, and is most clear and precise.

The central aim of socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture. The socialist theory is based on the historical assertion that the course of social evolution for centuries has gradually been to exclude the producing classes from the possession of land and capital, and to establish a new subjection, the subjection of workers who have nothing to depend on but precarious wage-labour. Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the working man and his family, to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes and their dependants, to bad and inartistic workmanship, to insecurity, waste, and starvation; and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes, wealthy millionaires confronted with an enormous mass of proletarians, the issue out of which must either be socialism or social ruin. To avoid all these evils and to secure a more equitable distribution of the means and appliances of happiness, socialists propose

that land and capital, which are the requisites of labour and the sources of all wealth and culture, should be placed under social ownership and control.

In thus maintaining that society should assume the management of industry and secure an equitable distribution of its fruits, socialists are agreed; but on the most important points of detail they differ very greatly. They differ as to the form society will take in carrying out the socialist programme, as to the relation of local bodies to the central government, and whether there is to be any central government, or any government at all in the ordinary sense of the word; as to the influence of the national idea in the society of the future, etc. They differ also as to what should be regarded as an 'equitable' system of distribution. The school of Saint-Simon advocated a social hierarchy, in which every man should be placed according to his capacity and rewarded according to his works. In the communities of Fourier the minimum of subsistence was to be guaranteed to each out of the common gain, the remainder to be divided between labour, capital, and talent — five-twelfths going to the first, four-twelfths to the second and three-twelfths to the third. At the revolution of 1848 Louis Blanc proposed that remuneration should be equal for all members of his *social workshops*. In the programme drawn up by the united Social Democrats of Germany (Gotha, 1875) it was provided that all shall enjoy the results of labour according to their reasonable wants, all of course being bound to work.

It is needless to say also that the theories of socialism

have been held in connection with the most varying opinions in philosophy and religion. A great deal of the historic socialism has been regarded as a necessary implicate of idealism. The prevailing socialism of the day is in large part based on the frankest and most outspoken revolutionary materialism. On the other hand, many socialists hold that their system is a necessary outcome of Christianity, that socialism and Christianity are essential the one to the other; and it should be said that the ethics of socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them.

Still, it should be insisted that the basis of socialism is economic, involving a fundamental change in the relation of labour to land and capital—a change which will largely affect production, and will entirely revolutionise the existing system of distribution. But, while its basis is economic, socialism implies and carries with it a change in the political, ethical, technical, and artistic arrangements and institutions of society, which would constitute a revolution greater than has ever taken place in human history, greater than the transition from the ancient to the mediæval world, or from the latter to the existing order of society.

In the first place, such a change generally assumes as its political complement the most thoroughly democratic organisation of society. The early socialism of Owen and Saint-Simon was marked by not a little of the autocratic spirit; but the tendency of the present socialism is more and more to ally itself with the most advanced democracy. Socialism, in fact, claims to be

the economic complement of democracy, maintaining that without a fundamental economic change political privilege has neither meaning nor value.

In the second place, socialism naturally goes with an unselfish or altruistic system of ethics. The most characteristic feature of the old societies was the exploitation of the weak by the strong under the systems of slavery, serfdom, and wage-labour. Under the socialistic *régime* it is the privilege and duty of the strong and talented to use their superior force and richer endowments in the service of their fellow-men without distinction of class, or nation, or creed. Whatever our opinion may be of the wisdom or practicability of their theories, history proves that socialists have been ready to sacrifice wealth, social position, and life itself, for the cause which they have adopted.

In the third place, socialists maintain that, under their system and no other, can the highest excellence and beauty be realised in industrial production and in art; whereas under the present system beauty and thoroughness are alike sacrificed to cheapness, which is a necessity of successful competition.

Lastly, the socialists refuse to admit that individual happiness or freedom or character would be sacrificed under the social arrangements they propose. They believe that under the present system a free and harmonious development of individual capacity and happiness is possible only for the privileged minority, and that socialism alone can open up a fair opportunity for all. They believe, in short, that there is no opposition

whatever between socialism and individuality rightly understood, that these two are complements the one of the other, that in socialism alone may every individual have hope of free development and a full realisation of himself.

Having shown how wide a social revolution is implied in the socialistic scheme of reconstruction, we may now state (1) that the economic basis of the prevalent socialism is a collectivism which excludes private possession of land and capital, and places them under social ownership in some form or other. In the words of Schäffle, 'the Alpha and Omega of socialism is the transformation of private competing capitals into a united collective capital.'¹ Adolf Wagner's more elaborate definition of it² is entirely in agreement with that of Schäffle. Such a system, while insisting on collective capital, is quite consistent with private property in other forms, and with perfect freedom in the use of one's own share in the equitable distribution of the produce of the associated labour. A thorough-going socialism demands that this principle should be applied to the capital and production of the whole world; only then can it attain to supreme and perfect realisation. But a sober-minded socialism will admit that the various intermediate stages in which the principle finds a partial application are so far a true and real development of the socialistic idea.

Even the best definitions, however, are only of

¹ *Quintessenz des Socialismus*, p. 12.

² *Lehrbuch der pol. Oekonomie, Grundlegung*, p. 174.

secondary importance; and while we believe that those we have just mentioned give an accurate account of the prevailing socialism, they are arbitrary, abstract, and otherwise open to objection. As we have already seen, the system of Fourier admitted of private capital under social control. The absolute views of the subject now current are due to the excessive love of system characteristic of German thought, and are not consistent either with history or human nature.

(2) Socialism is both a theory of social evolution and a working force in the history of the nineteenth century. The teaching of some eminent socialists, such as Rodbertus, may be regarded as a prophecy concerning the social development of the future rather than as a subject of agitation. In their view socialism is the next stage in the evolution of society, destined after many generations to supersede capitalism, as capitalism displaced feudalism, and feudalism succeeded to slavery. Even the majority of the most active socialists consider the question as still in the stage of agitation and propaganda, their present task being that of enlightening the masses until the consummation of the present social development, and the declared bankruptcy of the present social order, shall have delivered the world into their hands. Socialism, therefore, is for the most part a theory affecting the future, more or less remote, and has only to a limited degree gained a real and practical footing in the life of our time. Yet it should not be forgotten that its doctrines have most powerfully affected all the ablest recent economic writers of Germany, and have even con-

siderably modified German legislation. Its influence is rapidly growing among the lower and also among the most advanced classes in almost every country dominated by European culture, following the development of capitalism, of which it is not merely the negation, but in a far wider and more real sense is also the goal.

(3) In its doctrinal aspects socialism is most interesting as a criticism of the present economic order, of what socialists call the capitalistic system, with which the existing land system is connected. Under the present economic order land and capital (the material and instruments without which industry is impossible) are the property of a class employing a class of wage-labourers handicapped by their exclusion from land and capital. Competition is the general rule by which the share of the members of those classes in the fruits of production is determined. Against this system critical socialism is a reasoned protest; and it is at issue also with the prevailing political economy, in so far as it assumes or maintains the permanence or righteousness of this economic order. Of the economic optimism implied in the historic doctrine of *laissez-faire*, socialism is an uncompromising rejection.

(4) Socialism is usually regarded as a phase of the struggle for the emancipation of labour, for the complete participation of the working classes in the material, intellectual, and spiritual inheritance of the human race. This is certainly the most substantial and most prominent part of the socialist programme, the working classes being the most numerous and the worst sufferers

from the present *régime*. This view, however, is rather one-sided, for socialism claims not less to be in the interest of the small capitalist gradually crushed by the competition of the larger, and in the interest also of the large capitalist, whose position is endangered by the vastness and unwieldiness of his success, and by the world-wide economic anarchy from which even the greatest are not secure. Still, it is the deliverance of the working class that stands in the front of every socialistic theory; and, though the initiative in socialist speculation and action has usually come from men belonging to the middle and upper classes, yet it is to the workmen that they generally appeal.

While recognising the great confusion in the use of the word 'socialism,' we have treated it as properly a phenomenon of the nineteenth century, beginning in France with Saint-Simon and Fourier, in England with Robert Owen, and most powerfully represented at the present day by the school of Karl Marx. As we have seen, however, there are definitions of the word which would give it a wider range of meaning and a more ancient beginning, compared with which capitalism is but of yesterday; which would, in fact, make it as old as human society itself. In the early stages of human development, when the tribe or the village community was the social unit, the subordination of the individual to the society in which he dwelt was the rule, and common property was the prevalent form. In the development of the idea of property, especially as regards land, three successive historical stages are


broadly recognised — common property and common enjoyment of it, common property and private enjoyment, private property and private enjoyment. The last form did not attain to full expression till the end of the eighteenth century, when the principle of individual freedom, which was really a reaction against privileged restriction, was proclaimed as a positive axiom of government and of economics. The free individual struggle for wealth, and for the social advantages dependent on wealth, is a comparatively recent thing.

At all periods of history the State has reserved to itself the right to interpose in the arrangements of property—sometimes in favour of the poor, as in the case of the English poor law, which may thus be regarded as a socialistic measure. Moreover, all through history revolts in favour of the rearrangement of property have been very frequent. From the beginning there have existed misery and discontent, the contemplation of which has called forth schemes of an ideal society in the noblest and most sympathetic minds. Of these are the Utopias of Plato and Thomas More, advocating a systematic communism. And in the societies of the Catholic Church we have a permanent example of common property and a common enjoyment of it.

How are we to distinguish the socialism of the nineteenth century from these old-world phenomena, and especially from the communism which has played so great a part in history? To this query it is not difficult

to give a clear and precise answer from the socialist point of view. Socialism is a stage in the evolution of society which could not arrive till the conditions necessary to it had been established. Of these, one most essential condition was the development of the great industrialism which, after a long period of preparation and gradual growth, began to reach its culminating point with the inventions and technical improvements, with the application of steam and the rise of the factory system, in England towards the end of the eighteenth century. Under this system industry was organised into a vast social operation, and was thus already so far socialised; but it was a system that was exploited by the individual owner of the capital at his own pleasure and for his own behoof. Under the pressure of the competition of the large industry, the small capitalist is gradually crushed out, and the working producers become wage-labourers organised and drilled in immense factories and workshops. The development of this system still continues, and is enveloping the whole world. Such is the industrial revolution.

Parallel with this a revolution in the world of ideas, equally great and equally necessary to the rise of socialism, has taken place. This change of thought, which made its world-historic announcement in the French Revolution, made reason the supreme judge, and had freedom for its great practical watchword. It was represented in the economic sphere by the school of Adam Smith. Socialism was an outcome of it too, and first of all in Saint-Simon and his school professed



to give the positive and constructive corrective to a negative movement which did not see that it was merely negative and therefore temporary. In other words, Saint-Simon may be said to aim at nothing less than the completion of the work of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Adam Smith.

Thus socialism professes to be the legitimate child of two great revolutions,—of the industrial revolution which began to establish itself in England towards the end of the eighteenth century, and of the parallel revolution in thought which about the same time found most prominent expression in France. Robert Owen worked chiefly under the influence of the former; Saint-Simon and Fourier grew up under the latter. The conspiracy of Babeuf, which took place in 1796, shortly after the French Revolution, is properly to be regarded as a crude revolutionary communism not essentially different from the rude efforts in communism made in earlier periods of history. With Saint-Simon and Owen historic socialism really begins, and is no longer an isolated fact, but has had a continuous and widening development, the succession of socialistic teaching and propaganda being taken up by one country after another throughout the civilised world.

We have seen, then, that the rise of socialism as a new and reasoned theory of society was relative to the industrial revolution and to the ideas proclaimed in the French Revolution, prominent among which, besides the much emphasised idea of freedom and the less easily realised ideals of equality and fraternity, was the con-

ception of the worth and dignity of labour. Though Owen was most largely influenced by the former and Saint-Simon and Fourier by the latter, it is certain that all three were greatly affected by both the new movements. The motive power in Owen's career was the philanthropy and humanitarianism of the eighteenth century. He had grown up in the midst of the industrial revolution; he was one of the most successful pioneers in the improvement of the cotton manufacture. No one could be more deeply conscious of the enormous abuses of the factory system; and no one better knew the wonderful services that might be rendered by technical improvement if only it were made subordinate to human well-being. In the career of Owen we see the new spirit of the eighteenth century seeking to bring the mechanism of the new industrial system under the direction of a nobler principle, in which the good of all should be the great and sole aim.

The position of Saint-Simon was considerably different, yet akin. As Owen had before his eyes the evils of a young but gigantic industrialism, Saint-Simon contemplated the hoary abuses of an idle and privileged feudalism, fearfully shaken no doubt by the Revolution, but still strong in Europe, and in France, as elsewhere, powerfully revived during the period after Waterloo. Saint-Simon saw that a new world, an industrial world resting on labour, had arisen, while the old feudal and theological world—*fainéant* courtiers and a clergy steeped in ignorance—still ruled. All this array of parasites, who had no longer any useful function to

perform for society, Saint-Simon sought to replace by the industrial chiefs and scientific leaders as the real working heads of the French people. Only, he expected that these exceptionally gifted men, instead of exploiting the labour of others, should control an industrial France for the general good.

Neither Owen nor Saint-Simon was revolutionary in the ordinary sense. Owen was most anxious that the English and other Governments should adopt his projects of socialistic reform. Leading statesmen and royal personages befriended him. He had no faith in the political reforms of 1832; he reckoned the political side of chartism as of no account, and he preferred socialistic experiment under autocratic guidance until the workmen should be trained to rule themselves. The same autocratic tendency was very pronounced in Saint-Simon and his school. His first appeal was to Louis XVIII. He wished to supersede the feudal aristocracy by a working aristocracy of merit. His school claim to have been the first to warn the Governments of Europe of the rise of revolutionary socialism. In short, the early socialism arose during the reaction consequent on the wars of the French Revolution, and was influenced by the political tendencies of the time.

The beginning of socialism may be dated from 1817, the year when Owen laid his scheme for a socialistic community before the committee of the House of Commons on the poor law, the year also that the speculations of Saint-Simon definitely took a socialistic direction. The outlines of the history of socialism are

very simple. Till 1850 there was a double movement in France and England. In the former country, after Saint-Simon and Fourier the movement was represented chiefly by Proudhon and Louis Blanc. In England, after Owen the movement was taken up by the body of Christian socialists associated with Maurice and Kingsley.

During the next stage in the development of socialism we see the influence chiefly of German and also Russian thinkers, but it is generally international both in its principles and sympathies. The prevalent socialism found its first expression in the manifesto of the Communist Party published in 1848. The same views were elaborated by Marx in his *Kapital* (1867), and have in later times been consolidated and modified by many writers in many lands, in the programmes of national parties and in the resolutions of international congresses.

In this Introduction we have tried to give a preliminary conception of our subject, and we shall now proceed to present the leading views of the men who have taken the chief part in originating and guiding the socialist movement.

CHAPTER II

EARLY FRENCH SOCIALISM

SAINT-SIMON

THE founders of the early socialism grew up under the influence of the too-confident optimism which characterised the early stages of the French Revolution of 1789. They had an excessive faith in the possibilities of human progress and perfectibility; they knew little of the true laws of social evolution—in fact, did not sufficiently recognise those aspects of life which Darwinism has brought out so clearly. These faults the early socialists shared with many other thinkers of the time in which they lived.

Comte Henri de Saint-Simon, the founder of French socialism, was born at Paris in 1760. He belonged to a younger branch of the family of the celebrated duke of that name. His education, he tells us, was directed by d'Alembert. At the age of nineteen he went as volunteer to assist the American colonies in their revolt against Britain.

From his youth Saint-Simon felt the promptings of an eager ambition. His valet had orders to awake him

every morning with the words, 'Remember, monsieur le comte, that you have great things to do'; and his ancestor Charlemagne appeared to him in a dream, foretelling a remarkable future for him. Among his early schemes was one to unite the Atlantic and the Pacific by a canal, and another to construct a canal from Madrid to the sea.

He took no part of any importance in the French Revolution, but amassed a little fortune by land speculation—not on his own account, however, as he said, but to facilitate his future projects. Accordingly, when he was nearly forty years of age he went through a varied course of study and experiment, in order to enlarge and clarify his view of things. One of these experiments was an unhappy marriage, which after a year's duration was dissolved by the mutual consent of the parties. Another result of his experiments was that he found himself completely impoverished, and lived in penury for the remainder of his life.

The first of his numerous writings, *Lettres d'un Habitant de Genève*, appeared in 1803; but his early works were mostly scientific and political. It was not till 1817 that he began, in a treatise entitled *L'Industrie*, to propound his socialistic views, which he further developed in *L'Organisateur* (1819), *Du Système industriel* (1821), *Catéchisme des Industriels* (1823). The last and most important expression of his views is the *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825).

For many years before his death in 1825 Saint-Simon had been reduced to the greatest straits. He was

obliged to accept a laborious post for a salary of £40 a year, to live on the generosity of a former valet, and finally to solicit a small pension from his family. In 1823 he attempted suicide in despair. It was not till very late in his career that he attached to himself a few ardent disciples.

As a thinker Saint-Simon was entirely deficient in system, clearness, and consecutive strength. His writings are largely made up of a few ideas continually repeated. But his speculations are always ingenious and original; and he has unquestionably exercised great influence on modern thought, both as the historic founder of French socialism and as suggesting much of what was afterwards elaborated into Comtism.

Apart from the details of his socialistic teaching, with which we need not concern ourselves, we find that the ideas of Saint-Simon with regard to the reconstruction of society are very simple. His opinions were conditioned by the French Revolution and by the feudal and military system still prevalent in France. In opposition to the destructive liberalism of the Revolution he insisted on the necessity of a new and positive reorganisation of society. So far was he from advocating social revolt that he appealed to Louis XVIII. to inaugurate the new order of things. In opposition, however, to the feudal and military system, the former aspect of which had been strengthened by the Restoration, he advocated an arrangement by which the industrial chiefs should control society. In place of the Mediæval Church, the spiritual direction of

society should fall to the men of science. What Saint-Simon desired, therefore, was an industrialist State directed by modern science. The men who are best fitted to organise society for productive labour are entitled to bear rule in it.

The social aim is to produce things useful to life; the final end of social activity is 'the exploitation of the globe by association.' The contrast between labour and capital, so much emphasised by later socialism, is not present to Saint-Simon, but it is assumed that the industrial chiefs, to whom the control of production is to be committed, shall rule in the interest of society. Later on, the cause of the poor receives greater attention, till in his greatest work, *The New Christianity*, it becomes the central point of his teaching, and takes the form of a religion. It was this religious development of his teaching that occasioned his final quarrel with Comte.

Previous to the publication of the *Nouveau Christianisme* Saint-Simon had not concerned himself with theology. Here he starts from a belief in God, and his object in the treatise is to reduce Christianity to its simple and essential elements. He does this by clearing it of the dogmas and other excrescences and defects that have gathered round both the Catholic and Protestant forms of it, which he subjects to a searching and ingenious criticism. The moral doctrine will by the new faith be considered the most important; the divine element in Christianity is contained in the precept that men should act towards one another as brethren. 'The

new Christian organisation will deduce the temporal institutions as well as the spiritual from the principle that all men should act towards one another as brethren.' Expressing the same idea in modern language, Saint-Simon propounds as the comprehensive formula of the new Christianity this precept: 'The whole of society ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class; society ought to organise itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end.' This principle became the watch-word of the entire school of Saint-Simon; for them it was alike the essence of religion and the programme of social reform.

During his lifetime the views of Saint-Simon had little influence, and he left only a very few devoted disciples, who continued to advocate the doctrines of their master, whom they revered as a prophet. An important departure was made in 1828 by Bazard, who gave a 'complete exposition of the Saint-Simonian faith' in a long course of lectures in the Rue Taranne at Paris. In 1830 Bazard and Enfantin were acknowledged as the heads of the school; and the fermentation caused by the revolution of July of the same year brought the whole movement prominently before the attention of France. Early next year the school obtained possession of the *Globe* through Pierre Leroux, who had joined the party, which now numbered some of the ablest and most promising young men of France, many of the pupils of the École Polytechnique having caught its enthusiasm. The members formed them-

selves into an association arranged in three grades, and constituting a society or family, which lived out of a common purse in the Rue Monsigny.

Before long, however, dissensions began to arise in the sect. Bazard, a man of logical and more solid temperament, could no longer work in harmony with Enfantin, who desired to establish an arrogant and fantastic sacerdotalism, with lax notions as to marriage and the relations of the sexes. After a time Bazard seceded, and many of the strongest supporters followed his example. A series of extravagant entertainments given by the society during the winter of 1832 reduced its financial resources and greatly discredited it in character. They finally removed to Menilmontant, to a property of Enfantin, where they lived in a communistic society, distinguished by a peculiar dress. Shortly afterwards the chiefs were tried and condemned for proceedings prejudicial to the social order; and the sect was entirely broken up in 1832. Many of its members became famous as engineers, economists, and men of business. The idea of constructing the Suez Canal, as carried out by Lesseps, proceeded from the school.

In the school of Saint-Simon we find a great advance both in the breadth and firmness with which the vague and confused views of the master are developed; and this progress is due chiefly to Bazard. In the philosophy of history they recognise epochs of two kinds, the critical or negative, and the organic or constructive. The former, in which philosophy is the dominating

force, is characterised by war, egotism, and anarchy; the latter, which is controlled by religion, is marked by the spirit of obedience, devotion, association. The two spirits of antagonism and association are the two great social principles, and on the degree of prevalence of the two depends the character of an epoch. The spirit of association, however, tends more and more to prevail over its opponent, extending from the family to the city, from the city to the nation, and from the nation to the federation. This principle of association is to be the keynote of the social development of the future. Hitherto the law of humanity has been the 'exploitation of man by man' in its three stages—slavery, serfdom, the proletariat; in the future the aim must be 'the exploitation of the globe by man associated to man.'

Under the present system the industrial chief still exploits the proletariat, the members of which, though nominally free, must accept his terms under pain of starvation. This state of things is consolidated by the law of inheritance, whereby the instruments of production, which are private property, and all the attendant social advantages, are transmitted without regard to personal merit. The social disadvantages being also transmitted, misery becomes hereditary. The only remedy for this is the abolition of the law of inheritance, and the union of all the instruments of labour in a social fund, which shall be exploited by association. Society thus becomes sole proprietor, entrusting to social groups or social functionaries the management of

the various properties. The right of succession is transferred from the family to the State.

The school of Saint-Simon insists strongly on the claims of merit; they advocate a social hierarchy in which each man shall be placed according to his capacity and rewarded according to his works. This is, indeed, a most special and pronounced feature of the Saint-Simon Socialism, whose theory of government is a kind of spiritual or scientific autocracy, culminating in the fantastic sacerdotalism of Enfantin.

With regard to the family and the relation of the sexes, the school of Saint-Simon advocated the complete emancipation of woman and her entire equality with man. The 'social individual' is man and woman, who are associated in the triple function of religion, the State, and the family. In its official declarations the school maintained the sanctity of the Christian law of marriage. On this point Enfantin fell into a prurient and fantastic latitudinarianism, which made the school a scandal to France, but many of the most prominent members besides Bazard refused to follow him.

Connected with the last-mentioned doctrines was their famous theory of the 'rehabilitation of the flesh,' deduced from the philosophic theory of the school, which was a species of pantheism, though they repudiated the name. On this theory they rejected the dualism so much emphasised by Catholic Christianity in its penances and mortifications, and held that the body should be restored to its due place of honour. It is a vague principle, of which the ethical character depends

on the interpretation; and it was variously interpreted in the school of Saint-Simon. It was certainly immoral as held by Enfantin, by whom it was developed into a kind of sensual mysticism, a system of free love with a religious sanction.¹

The good and bad aspects of the Saint-Simon socialism are too obvious to require elucidation. The antagonism between the old economic order and the new had only begun to declare itself. The extent and violence of the disease were not yet apparent: both diagnosis and remedy were superficial and premature. Such deep-seated organic disorder was not to be conjured away by the waving of a magic wand. The movement was all too utopian and extravagant in much of its activity. The most prominent portion of the school attacked social order in its essential point—the family morality—adopting the worst features of a fantastic, arrogant, and prurient sacerdotalism, and parading them in the face of Europe. Thus it happened that a school which attracted so many of the most brilliant and promising young men of France, which was so striking and original in its criticism of the existing condition of things, which was so strong in the spirit of initiative, and was in many ways so noble, unselfish, and aspiring, sank amidst the laughter and indignation of a scandalised society.

¹ An excellent edition of the works of Saint-Simon and Enfantin was begun by survivors of the sect in (Paris) 1865, and now numbers forty vols. See Reybaud, *Etudes sur les réformateurs modernes* (7th edition, Paris 1864); Janet, *Saint-Simon et le Saint-Simonisme* (Paris, 1878); A. J. Booth, *Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism* (London, 1871).

FOURIER

Considered as a purely literary and speculative product, the socialism of Fourier was prior to those both of Owen and Saint-Simon. Fourier's first work, *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*, was published as early as 1808. His system, however, scarcely attracted any attention and exercised no influence till the movements originated by Owen and Saint-Simon had begun to decline.

The socialism of Fourier is in many respects fundamentally different from that of Saint-Simon; in the two schools, in fact, we find the two opposing types of socialism which have continued to prevail ever since. Saint-Simonism represented the principle of authority, of centralisation; while Fourier made all possible provision for local and individual freedom. With Saint-Simonism the State is the starting-point, the normal and dominant power; in Fourier the like position is held by a local body, corresponding to the commune, which he called the *Phalange*. In the system of Fourier the *phalange* holds the supreme and central place, other organisation in comparison with it being secondary and subordinate.

The deviser of the *phalange*, François Marie Charles Fourier¹ was a very remarkable man. He was born at Besançon in 1772, and received from his father, a pros-

¹ Fourier's complete works (6 vols., Paris, 1840-46; new ed. 1870). The most eminent expounder of Fourierism was Victor Considérant, *Destinée sociale*; Gatti de Gammont's *Fourier et son système* is an excellent summary.

perous draper, an excellent education at the academy of his native town. The boy excelled in the studies of the school, and regretfully abandoned them for a business career, which he followed in various towns of France. As a commercial traveller in Holland and Germany he enlarged his experience of men and things. From his father Fourier inherited a sum of about £3000, with which he started business at Lyons, but he lost all he had in the siege of that city by the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror, was thrown into prison, and narrowly escaped the guillotine. On his release he joined the army for two years, and then returned to his old way of life.

At a very early age Fourier had his attention called to the defects of the prevalent commercial system. When only five years old he had been punished for speaking the truth about certain goods in his father's shop; and at the age of twenty-seven he had at Marseilles to superintend the destruction of an immense quantity of rice held for higher prices during a scarcity of food till it had become unfit for use. The conviction grew within him that a system which involved such abuses and immoralities must be radically evil. Feeling that it was his mission to find a remedy for it, he spent his life in the discovery, elucidation, and propagation of a better order; and he brought to his task a self-denial and singleness of purpose which have seldom been surpassed. For the last ten years of his life he waited in his apartments at noon every day for the wealthy capitalist who should supply the means for the realisa-

tion of his schemes. The tangible success obtained by his system was very slight. His works found few readers and still fewer disciples.

It was chiefly after the decline of the Saint-Simon movement that he gained a hearing and a little success. A small group of enthusiastic adherents gathered round him; a journal was started for the propagation of his views; and in 1832 an attempt was made on lands near Versailles to establish a *phalange*, which, however, proved a total failure. In 1837 Fourier passed away from a world that showed little inclination to listen to his teaching. A singular altruism was in his character blended with the most sanguine confidence in the possibilities of human progress. Perhaps the weakest point in his teaching was that he so greatly underestimated the strength of the unregenerate residuum in human nature. His own life was a model of simplicity, integrity, kindliness, and disinterested devotion to what he deemed the highest aims.

The social system of Fourier was, we need not say, the central point in his speculations. But as his social system was moulded and coloured by his peculiar views on theology, cosmogony, and psychology, we must give some account of those aspects of his teaching. In theology Fourier inclined, though not decidedly, to what is called pantheism; the pantheistic conception of the world which underlay the Saint-Simon theory of the 'rehabilitation of the flesh' may be said to form the basis also of the social ethics and arrangements of Fourier. Along with this he held a natural optimism

of the most radical and comprehensive character. God has done all things well, only man has misunderstood and thwarted His benevolent purposes. God pervades everything as a universal attraction. Whereas Newton discovered that the law of attraction governs one movement of the world, Fourier shows that it is universal, ruling the world in all its movements, which are four—material, organic, intellectual, and social. It is the same law of attraction which pervades all things, from the cosmic harmony of the stars down to the puny life of the minutest insect, and which would reign also in the human soul and in human society, if the intentions of the Creator were understood. In the elucidation of his system Fourier's aim simply is to interpret the intentions of the Creator. He regards his philosophy, not as ingenious guesses or speculations, but as discoveries plainly traceable from a few first principles; discoveries in no way doubtful, but the fruit of clear insight into the divine law.

The cosmogony of Fourier is the most fantastic part of a fantastic system. But as he did not consider his views in this department an essential part of his system, we need not dwell upon them. He believed that the world is to exist for eighty thousand years, forty thousand years of progress being followed by forty thousand years of decline. As yet it has not reached the adult stage, having lasted only seven thousand years. The present stage of the world is civilisation, which Fourier uses as a comprehensive term for everything artificial and corrupt, the result of perverted

human institutions, themselves due to the fact that we have for five thousand years misunderstood the intentions of the Creator. The head and front of this misunderstanding consists in our pronouncing passions to be bad that are simply natural; and there is but one way of redressing it—to give a free and healthy and complete development to our passions.

This leads us to the psychology of Fourier. He recognised twelve radical passions connected with three points of attraction. Five are sensitive (tending to enjoyment)—sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. Four are affective (tending to groups)—love, friendship, ambition, and *familism* or paternity. The meaning and function of these are obvious enough. The remaining three, the *alternating*, *emulative*, and *composite* (which he calls *passions rectrices*, and which tend to series or to unity), are more special to Fourier. Of the three the first is connected with the need of variety; the second leads to intrigue and jealousy; the third, full of intoxication and abandonment, is born of the combination of several pleasures of the senses and of the soul enjoyed simultaneously. The passions of the first two classes are so far controlled by the *passions rectrices*, and especially by the composite passion; but even the *passions rectrices* obviously contain elements of discord and war. All, however, are ultimately harmonised by a great social passion, which Fourier calls *Unitéisme*. Out of the free play of all the passions harmony is evolved, like white out of the combination of the colours.

The speedy passage from social chaos to universal

harmony contemplated by Fourier can, as we have seen, be accomplished only by one method, by giving to the human passions their natural development. For this end, a complete break with civilisation must be made. We must have new social arrangements suitable to human nature and in harmony with the intentions of the Creator. These Fourier provides in the *phalange*. In its normal form the *phalange* was to consist of four hundred families or eighteen hundred persons, living on a square league of land, self-contained and self-sufficing for the most part, and combining within itself the means for the free development of the most varied likings and capacities. It was an institution in which agriculture, industry, the appliances and opportunities of enjoyment, and generally of the widest and freest human development, are combined, the interests of individual freedom and of common union being reconciled in a way hitherto unknown and unimagined.

While the *phalange* is the social unit, the individuals composing it will arrange themselves in groups of seven or nine persons; from twenty-four to thirty-two groups form a series, and these unite to form a *phalange*—all according to principles of attraction, of free elective affinity. The dwelling of the *phalange* was the *phalanstère*, a vast, beautiful, and commodious structure, where life could be arranged to suit every one, common or solitary, according to preference; but under such conditions there would be neither excuse nor motive for the selfish seclusion, isolation, and suspicion so prevalent in civilisation.

In such an institution it is obvious that government under the form of compulsion and restraint would be reduced to a minimum. The officials of the *phalange* would be elected. The *phalange* itself was an experiment on a local scale, which could easily be made, and once successfully made would lead to world-wide imitation. They would freely group themselves into wider combinations with elected chiefs, and the *phalanges* of the whole world would form a great federation with a single elected chief, resident at Constantinople, which would be the universal capital.

In all the arrangements of the *phalange* the principle of free attraction would be observed. Love would be free. Free unions should be formed, which could be dissolved, or which might grow into permanent marriage.

The labour of the *phalange* would be conducted on scientific methods; but it would, above all things, be made *attractive*, by consulting the likings and capacities of the members, by frequent change of occupation, by recourse to the principle of emulation in individuals, groups, and series. On the principle that men and women are eager for the greatest exertion, if only they like it, Fourier bases his theory that all labour can be made attractive by appealing to appropriate motives in human nature. Obviously, also, what is now the most disgusting labour could be more effectually performed by machinery.

The product of labour was to be distributed in the following manner:—Out of the common gain of the

phalange a very comfortable minimum was assured to every member. Of the remainder, five-twelfths went to labour, four-twelfths to capital, and three-twelfths to talent. In the *phalange* individual capital existed, and inequality of talent was not only admitted, but insisted upon and utilised. In the actual distribution the *phalange* treated with individuals. With regard to the remuneration of individuals under the head of capital no difficulty could be felt, as a normal rate of interest would be given on the advances made. Individual talent would be rewarded in accordance with the services rendered in the management of the *phalange*, the place of each being determined by election. Labour would be remunerated on a principle entirely different from the present. Hard and common or necessary work should be best paid; useful work should come next, and pleasant work last of all. In any case the reward of labour would be so great that every one would have the opportunity of becoming a capitalist.

One of the most notable results of the *phalange* treating with each member individually is, that the economic independence of women would be assured. Even the child of five would have its own share in the produce.

The system of Fourier may fairly be described as one of the most ingenious and elaborate Utopias ever devised by the human brain. But in many cardinal points it has been constructed in complete contradiction to all that experience and science have taught us of

human nature and the laws of social evolution. He particularly underestimates the force of human egotism. From the beginning progress has consisted essentially in the hard and strenuous repression of the beast within the man, whereas Fourier would give it free rein. This applies to his system as a whole, and especially to his theories on marriage. Instead of supplying a sudden passage from social chaos to universal harmony, his system would, after entirely subverting such order as we have, only bring us back to social chaos.

Yet his works are full of suggestion and instruction, and will long repay the study of the social economist. His criticisms of the existing system, of its waste, anarchy, and immorality, are ingenious, searching, and often most convincing. In his positive proposals, too, are to be found some of the most sagacious and far-reaching forecasts of the future landmarks of human progress. Most noteworthy are the guarantees he devised for individual and local freedom. The *phalange* was on the one hand large enough to secure all the benefits of a scientific industry and of a varied common life; on the other it provides against the evils of centralisation, of State despotism, of false patriotism and national jealousy. Fourier has forecast the part to be played in the social and political development of the future by the local body, whether we call it commune, parish, or municipality. The fact that he has given it a fantastic name, and surrounded it with many fantastic conditions, should not hinder us from recognising his great sagacity and originality.

The freedom of the individual and of the minority is, moreover, protected against the possible tyranny of the *phalange* by the existence, under reasonable limits and under social control, of individual capital. This individual capital, further, is perfectly *mobile*; that is, the possessor of it, if he thinks fit to migrate or go on travel, may remove his capital, and find a welcome for his labour, talent, and investments in any part of the world. Such arrangements of Fourier may suggest a much-needed lesson to many of the contemporary adherents of 'scientific socialism.'

While, therefore, we believe that Fourier's system was as a whole entirely utopian, he has with great sagacity drawn the outlines of much of our political and social progress; and while we believe that the full developmient of human passions as recommended by him would soon reduce us to social chaos, a time may come in our ethical and rational growth when a widening freedom may be permitted and exercised, not by casting off moral law, but by the perfect assimilation of it.

CHAPTER III

FRENCH SOCIALISM OF 1848

THE year 1830 was an important era in the history of socialism. During the fermentation of that time the activity of the Saint-Simon school came to a crisis, and the theories of Fourier had an opportunity of taking practical shape. But by far the greatest result for socialism of the revolutionary period of 1830 was the definite establishment of the contrast between the *bourgeoisie* and proletariat in France and England, the two countries that held the foremost place in the modern industrial, social, and political movement. Hitherto the men who were afterwards destined consciously to constitute those two classes had fought side by side against feudalism and the reaction. Through the restricted franchise introduced at this period in the two countries just mentioned the middle class had become the ruling power.

Excluded from political privileges and pressed by the weight of adverse economic conditions, the proletariat now appeared as the revolutionary party. The first symptom in France of the altered state of things was the outbreak at Lyons in 1831, when the starving

workmen rose to arms with the device, 'Live working, or die fighting.' Chartism was a larger phase of the same movement in England. The theories of Saint-Simon and Fourier had met with acceptance chiefly or entirely among the educated classes. Socialism now directly appealed to the working men.

In this chapter our concern is with the development of the new form of socialism in France. Paris, which had so long been the centre of revolutionary activity, was now, and particularly during the latter half of the reign of the *bourgeois* King, Louis Philippe, the seat of socialistic fermentation. In 1839 Louis Blanc published his *Organisation du travail*, and Cabet his *Voyage en Icarie*. In 1840 Proudhon brought out his book on property. Paris was the school to which youthful innovators went to learn the lesson of revolution. At this period she counted among her visitors Lassalle, the founder of the Social Democracy of Germany; Karl Marx, the chief of scientific international socialism; and Bakunin, the apostle of anarchism.

The socialistic speculation associated with the three men last mentioned was to have a far-reaching influence; but it did not attain to full development till a later period. The socialistic activity of Louis Blanc and Proudhon culminated during the revolution of 1848, and exercised considerable influence on the course of events in Paris at that time.

LOUIS BLANC

The socialism of Saint-Simon and Fourier was, as we have seen, largely imaginative and Utopian, and had only a very remote connection with the practical life of their time. With Louis Blanc the movement came into real contact with the national history of France. In Louis Blanc's teaching the most conspicuous feature was that he demanded the democratic organisation of the State as preparatory to social reorganisation. His system, therefore, had a positive and practical basis, in so far as it allied itself to a dominant tendency in the existing State.

It is unnecessary here to recapitulate in detail the life of Louis Blanc. He was born in 1811 at Madrid, where his father was inspector-general of finance under Joseph during his uncertain tenure of the Spanish throne. At an early age he attained to eminence as a journalist in Paris, and in 1839 established the *Revue du progrès*, in which he first brought out his celebrated work on Socialism, the *Organisation du travail*. It was soon published in book form, and found a wide popularity among the workmen of France, who were captivated by the brilliancy of the style, the fervid eloquence with which it exposed existing abuses, and the simplicity and democratic fitness of the schemes for the regeneration of society which it advocated.

The greater part of the book is taken up with unsparing denunciations of the evils of competition,

which, as common to Louis Blanc with other socialists, need not detain us. More interesting are the practical measures for their removal, proposed in his treatise.¹ Like the socialists that preceded him, L. Blanc cannot accept the views which teach a necessary antagonism between soul and body; we must aim at the harmonious development of both sides of our nature. The formula of progress is double in its unity: moral and material amelioration of the lot of all by the free co-operation of all, and their fraternal association.² He saw, however, that social reform could not be attained without political reform. The first is the end, the second is the means. It was not enough to discover the true methods for inaugurating the principle of association and for organising labour in accordance with the rules of reason, justice, and humanity. It was necessary to have political power on the side of social reform, political power resting on the Chambers, on the tribunals, and on the army: not to take it as an instrument was to meet it as an obstacle.

For these reasons he wished to see the State constituted on a thoroughly democratic basis, as the first condition of success. The emancipation of the proletarians was a question so difficult that it would require the whole force of the State for its solution. What is wanting to the working class are the instruments of labour; the function of Government is to furnish them. If we had to define what we consider the State to be,

■ *Organisation du travail*. Fifth edition. 1848.

■ Preface to fifth edition, *Organisation du travail*.

we should reply, 'The State is the banker of the poor.'

Louis Blanc demanded that the democratic State should create industrial associations, which he called *social workshops*, and which were destined gradually and without shock to supersede individual workshops. The State would provide the means; it would draw up the rules for their constitution, and it would appoint the functionaries for the first year. But, once founded and set in movement, the social workshop would be self-supporting, self-acting, and self-governing. The workmen would choose their own directors and managers; they would themselves arrange the division of the profits, and would take measures to extend the enterprise commenced.

In such a system where would there be room for arbitrary rule or tyranny? The State would establish the social workshops, would pass laws for them, and supervise their execution for the good of all; but its *rôle* would end there. Is this, can this be tyranny? Thus the freedom of the industrial associations and of the individuals composing them would not only remain intact; it would have the solid support of the State. The intervention of a democratic Government on behalf of the people, whom it represented, would remove the misery, anarchy, and oppression necessarily attendant on the competitive system, and in place of the delusive liberty of *laissez-faire*, would establish a real and positive freedom.

With regard to the remuneration of talent and labour

L. Blanc takes very high ground. 'Genius,' he said, 'should assert its legitimate empire, not by the amount of the tribute which it will levy on society, but by the greatness of the services which it will render.' This is no mere flourish of eloquence; it is to be the principle of remuneration in his association. Society could not, even if it would, repay the genius of a Newton; Newton had his just recompense in the joy of discovering the laws by which worlds are governed. Exceptional endowments must find development and a fitting reward in the exceptional services they render to society.

L. Blanc therefore believed in a hierarchy according to capacity; remuneration according to capacity he admitted in the earlier editions of his work, but only provisionally and as a concession to prevalent anti-social opinion. In the edition of 1848, the year when his theories attained for a time to historic importance, he had withdrawn this concession. 'Though the false and anti-social education given to the present generation makes it difficult to find any other motive of emulation and encouragement than a higher salary, the wages will be equal, as the ideas and character of men will be changed by an absolutely new education.'¹ Private capitalists would be invited to join the associations, and would under fixed conditions receive interest for their advances; but as the collective capital increased, the opportunities for so placing individual capital would surely diminish. The tyranny of capital would, in fact, receive a mortal wound.

¹ *Organisation du travail*, p. 103.

The revolution of 1848 was an important stage in the development of democracy. In ancient and also in mediæval times the democracy was associated with city life; the citizens personally appeared and spoke and voted in the Assemblies. The modern democracy has grown in large States, extending over wide territories, and the citizen can exercise political power only through elected representatives. Hence the importance of the franchise in modern politics. The evolution of the modern democracy has gone through a long succession of phases, beginning with the early growth of the English Parliament, and continued in the struggles of the Dutch against the Spaniards, in the English Revolutions of 1642 and 1688, in the American Revolution of 1776, and the French Revolution of 1789. In the early struggles, however, the mass of the people had no very great share. It was hardly till 1848 that the working class made its entrance on the stage of history—in Europe at least.

The revolutionary disturbances of 1848 affected nearly the whole of western and central Europe. It was a rising of the peoples against antiquated political forms and institutions; against the arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna, whereby Europe was partitioned according to the convenience of ruling houses; against irresponsible Governments, which took no account of the wishes of their subjects.

In France, the country with which we are now specially concerned, the revolution was a revolt of the people against a representative monarchy with a very

restricted franchise. It was not a deeply-planned rising, and, indeed, was a surprise to those who wished it and accomplished it. Yet it marked a most important stage in the progress of the world, for, as a result of it, men for the first time saw the legislature of a great country established on principles of universal suffrage, and the cause of the working men recognised as a supreme duty of government.

Louis Blanc was the most prominent actor in what may be called the social-democratic side of the French Revolution of 1848. Through his influence with the working classes, and as representing their feelings and aspirations, he obtained a place in the Provisional Government. He was supported there by others like-minded with himself, including one working man, whose appearance in such a capacity was also a notable event in modern history. But though circumstances were so far favourable, he did not accomplish much. It cannot be said that his plans obtained a fair hearing or a fair trial. He was present in the Provisional Government as the pioneer of a new cause whose time had not yet come.

The schemes for social reconstruction which he contemplated were certainly not carried out in the *national workshops* of that year. From the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the subject, subsequently instituted by the French Government, and from the *History of the National Workshops*, written by their director, Emile Thomas, it is perfectly clear that the *national workshops* were simply a travesty of the pro-

posals of Louis Blanc, established expressly to discredit them. They were a means of finding work for the motley proletariat thrown out of employment during the period of revolutionary disturbance, and those men were put to unproductive labour; whereas, of course, Louis Blanc contemplated nothing but productive work, and the men he proposed inviting to join his associations were to give guarantees of character. It was intended, too, by his opponents that the mob of workmen whom they employed in the so-called *national workshops* would be ready to assist their masters in the event of a struggle with the socialist party.

A number of private associations of a kind similar to those proposed by Louis Blanc were indeed subsidised by the Government. But of the whole sum voted for this end, which amounted to only £120,000, the greater part was applied to purposes quite foreign from the grant. It was not the intention of the moving spirits of the Government that they should succeed. Moreover, the months following the revolution of February were a period of industrial stagnation and insecurity, when any project of trade, either on the old or on the new lines, had little prospect of success. Under these circumstances, the fact that a few of the associations did prosper very fairly may be accepted as proof that the scheme of Louis Blanc had in it the elements of vitality. The history of the whole matter fully justifies the exclamation of Lassalle that 'lying is a European power.'¹ It has been the subject of endless

■ Lassalle, *Die französischen Nationalwerkstätten von 1848.*

misrepresentation by writers who have taken no pains to verify the facts.

As one of the leaders during this difficult crisis, Louis Blanc had neither personal force nor enduring political influence sufficient to secure any solid success for his cause. He was an amiable, genial, and eloquent enthusiast, but without weight enough to be a controller of men on a wide scale. The Labour Conferences at the Luxembourg, over which he presided, ended also, as his opponents desired, without any tangible result.

The Assembly, elected on the principle of universal suffrage, which met in May, showed that the peasantry and the mass of the French people were not in accord with the working classes of Paris and of the industrial centres. It did not approve of the social-democratic activity urged by a section of the Provisional Government. The national workshops also were closed, and the proletariat of Paris rose in armed insurrection, which was overthrown by Cavaignac in the sanguinary days of June. Louis Blanc was in no way responsible for the revolt, which can be called socialistic only in the sense that the proletariat was engaged in it, the class of which socialism claims to be the special champion.

PROUDHON

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born in 1809 at Besançon, France, the native place also of the socialist Fourier. His origin was of the humblest, his father being a brewer's cooper, and the boy herded cows and did such other work as came in his way. But he was not entirely self-educated; at sixteen he entered the college of his native place, though his family was so poor that he could not procure the necessary books, and had to borrow them from his mates in order to copy the lessons. There is a story of the young Proudhon returning home laden with prizes, but to find that there was no dinner for him.

At nineteen he became a working compositor, and was afterwards promoted to be a corrector for the press, reading proofs of ecclesiastical works, and thereby acquiring a considerable knowledge of theology. In this way he also came to learn Hebrew, and to compare it with Greek, Latin, and French. It was the first proof of his intellectual audacity that on the strength of this he wrote an *Essai de grammaire générale*. As Proudhon knew nothing whatever of the true principles of philology, his treatise was of no value.

In 1838 he obtained the *pension Suard*, a bursary of 1500 francs a year for three years, for the encouragement of young men of promise, which was in the gift of the Academy of Besançon. Next year he wrote a treatise *On the Utility of Keeping the Sunday*, which

contained the germs of his revolutionary ideas. About this time he went to Paris, where he lived a poor, ascetic, and studious life, making acquaintance, however, with the socialistic ideas which were then fermenting in the capital.

In 1840 he published his first work, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* (What is Property?) His famous answer to this question, *La propriété c'est le vol* (Property is theft), naturally did not please the academy of Besançon, and there was some talk of withdrawing his pension; but he held it for the regular period.¹

For his third memoir on property, which took the shape of a letter to the Fourierist, M. Considérant, he was tried at Besançon, but was acquitted. In 1846 he published his greatest work, the *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère*. For some time Proudhon carried on a small printing establishment at Besançon, but without success; and afterwards held a post as a kind of manager with a commercial firm at Lyons. In 1847 he left this employment, and finally settled in Paris, where he was now becoming celebrated as a leader of innovation.

He regretted the sudden outbreak of the revolution of February, because it found the social reformers unprepared; but he threw himself with ardour into the conflict of opinion, and soon gained a national

¹ A complete edition of Proudhon's works, including his posthumous writings, was published at Paris, 1875. See *P. J. Proudhon, sa vie et sa correspondance*, by Sainte-Beuve (Paris, 1875), an admirable work, unhappily not completed; also *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1866 and Feb. 1873.

notoriety. He was the moving spirit of the *Représentant du Peuple* and other journals, in which the most advanced theories were advocated in the strongest language; and as member of Assembly for the Seine department he brought forward his celebrated proposal for exacting an impost of one-third on interest and rent, which of course was rejected. His attempt to found a bank which should operate by granting gratuitous credit, was also a complete failure; of the five million francs which he required, only seventeen thousand were offered. The violence of his utterances led to an imprisonment at Paris for three years, during which he married a young working woman.

As Proudhon aimed at economic rather than political innovation, he had no special quarrel with the Second Empire, and he lived in comparative quiet under it till the publication of his work, *De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église* (1858), in which he attacked the Church and other existing institutions with unusual fury. This time he fled to Brussels to escape imprisonment. On his return to France his health broke down, though he continued to write. He died at Passy in 1865.

Personally, Proudhon was one of the most remarkable figures of modern France. His life was marked by the severest simplicity and even puritanism; he was affectionate in his domestic relations, a most loyal friend, and strictly upright in conduct. He was strongly opposed to the prevailing French socialism of his time because of its utopianism and immorality;

and, though he uttered all manner of wild paradox and vehement invective against the dominant ideas and institutions, he was remarkably free from feelings of personal hate. In all that he said and did he was the son of the people, who had not been broken to the usual social and academic discipline; hence his roughness, his one-sidedness, and his exaggerations. But he is always vigorous, and often brilliant and original.

It would obviously be impossible to reduce the ideas of such an irregular thinker to systematic form. In later years Proudhon himself confessed that 'the great part of his publications formed only a work of dissection and ventilation, so to speak, by means of which he slowly makes his way towards a superior conception of political and economic laws.' Yet the groundwork of his teaching is clear and firm; no one could insist with greater emphasis on the demonstrative character of economic principles as understood by himself. He strongly believed in the absolute truth of a few moral ideas, with which it was the aim of his teaching to mould and suffuse political economy. Of these fundamental ideas, justice, liberty, and equality were the chief. What he desiderated, for instance, in an ideal society was the most perfect equality of remuneration. It was his principle that service pays service, that a day's labour balances a day's labour—in other words, that the duration of labour is the just measure of value. He did not shrink from any of the consequences of this theory, for he would give the same remuneration to the worst mason as to a Phidias; but he looks for-

ward also to a period in human development when the present inequality in the talent and capacity of men would be reduced to an inappreciable minimum.

From the great principle of service as the equivalent of service he derived his axiom that property is the right of *aubaine*. The *aubain* was a stranger not naturalised; and the right of *aubaine* was the right in virtue of which the Sovereign claimed the goods of such a stranger who had died in his territory. Property is a right of the same nature, with a like power of appropriation in the form of rent, interest, etc. It reaps without labour, consumes without producing, and enjoys without exertion.

Proudhon's aim, therefore, was to realise a science of society resting on principles of justice, liberty, and equality thus understood; 'a science, absolute, rigorous, based on the nature of man and of his faculties, and on their mutual relations; a science which we have not to invent, but to discover.' But he saw clearly that such ideas, with their necessary accompaniments, could be realised only through a long and laborious process of social transformation. As we have said, he strongly detested the prurient immorality of the schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier. He attacked them not less bitterly for thinking that society could be changed off-hand by a ready-made and complete scheme of reform. It was 'the most accursed lie,' he said, 'that could be offered to mankind.'

In social change he distinguishes between the transition and the perfection or achievement. With regard

to the transition he advocated the progressive abolition of the right of *aubaine*, by reducing interest, rent, etc. For the goal he professed only to give the general principles; he had no ready-made scheme, no Utopia. The positive organisation of the new society in its details was a labour that would require fifty Montesquieus. The organisation he desired was one on collective principles, a free association which would take account of the division of labour, and which would maintain the personality both of the man and the citizen. With his strong and fervid feeling for human dignity and liberty, Proudhon could not have tolerated any theory of social change that did not give full scope for the free development of man. Connected with this was his famous paradox of *anarchy*, as the goal of the free development of society, by which he meant that through the ethical progress of men government should become unnecessary. Each man should be a law to himself. 'Government of man by man in every form,' he says, 'is oppression. The highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and *anarchy*.'

Proudhon's theory of property as the right of *aubaine* is substantially the same as the theory of capital held by Marx and most of the later socialists. Property and capital are defined and treated as the power of exploiting the labour of other men, of claiming the results of labour without giving an equivalent. Proudhon's famous paradox, 'Property is theft,' is merely a trenchant expression of this general principle. As

slavery is assassination inasmuch as it destroys all that is valuable and desirable in human personality, so property is theft inasmuch as it appropriates the value produced by the labour of others in the form of rent, interest, or profit without rendering an equivalent. For property Proudhon would substitute individual possession, the right of occupation being equal for all men.

With the bloodshed of the days of June French socialism ceased for a time to be a considerable force; and Paris, too, for a time lost its place as the great centre of innovation. The rising removed the most enterprising leaders of the workmen and quelled the spirit of the remainder, while the false prosperity of the Second Empire relieved their most urgent grievances. Under Napoleon III. there was consequently comparative quietness in France. Even the International had very little influence on French soil, though French working men had an important share in originating it.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY ENGLISH SOCIALISM

COMPARED with the parallel movement in France the early socialism of England had an uneventful history. In order to appreciate the significance of Robert Owen's work it is necessary to recall some of the most important features of the social condition of the country in his time. The English worker had no fixed interest in the soil. He had no voice either in local or national government. He had little education or none at all. His dwelling was wretched in the extreme. The right even of combination was denied him till 1824. The wages of the agricultural labourer were miserably low.

The workman's share in the benefits of the industrial revolution was doubtful. Great numbers of his class were reduced to utter poverty and ruin by the great changes consequent on the introduction of machinery; the tendency to readjustment was slow and continually disturbed by fresh change. The hours of work were mercilessly long. He had to compete against the labour of women, and of children brought frequently at the age of five or six from the work-

houses. These children had to work the same long hours as the adults, and they were sometimes very cruelly treated by the overseers. Destitute as they so often were of parental protection and oversight, with both sexes huddled together under immoral and insanitary conditions, it was only natural that they should fall into the worst habits, and that their offspring should to such a lamentable degree be vicious, improvident, and physically degenerate.

In a country where the labourers had neither education nor political or social rights, and where the peasantry were practically landless serfs, the old English poor law was only a doubtful part of an evil system. All these permanent causes of mischief were aggravated by special causes connected with the cessation of the Napoleonic wars, which are well known. It was in such circumstances, when English pauperism had become a grave national question, that Owen first brought forward his scheme of socialism.

Robert Owen, philanthropist, and founder of English socialism, was born at the village of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, in 1771.¹ His father

¹ Of R. Owen's numerous works in exposition of his system, the most important are the *New View of Society*; the *Report* communicated to the Committee on the Poor Law; the *Book of the New Moral World*; and *Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race*. See *Life of Robert Owen written by himself*, London, 1857, and *Threading my Way, Twenty-seven Years of Autobiography*, by Robert Dale Owen, his son, London, 1874. There are also *Lives of Owen* by A. J. Booth (London, 1869), W. L. Sargant (London, 1860), and F. Podmore (London, 1906). For works of a more general character see G. J. Holyoake, *History of Co-operation in England*, London, 1875; Adolf Held, *Zwei Bücher zur sozialen Geschichte Englands*, Leipsic, 1881.

had a small business in Newtown as saddler and iron-monger, and there young Owen received all his school education, which terminated at the age of nine. At ten he went to Stamford, where he served in a draper's shop for three or four years, and, after a short experience of work in a London shop, removed to Manchester.

His success at Manchester was very rapid. When only nineteen years of age he became manager of a cotton-mill, in which five hundred people were employed, and by his administrative intelligence, energy, industry, and steadiness, soon made it one of the best establishments of the kind in Great Britain. In this factory Owen used the first bags of American Sea-Island cotton ever imported into the country ; it was the first cotton obtained from the Southern States of America. Owen also made remarkable improvement in the quality of the cotton spun. Indeed there is no reason to doubt that at this early age he was the first cotton-spinner in England, a position entirely due to his own capacity and knowledge of the trade, as he had found the mill in no well-ordered condition and was left to organise it entirely on his own responsibility.

Owen had become manager and one of the partners of the Chorlton Twist Company at Manchester, when he made his first acquaintance with the scene of his future philanthropic efforts at New Lanark. During a visit to Glasgow he had fallen in love with the daughter of the proprietor of the New Lanark mills, Mr. Dale. Owen induced his partners to purchase New Lanark ;

and after his marriage with Miss Dale he settled there, in 1800, as manager and part owner of the mills. Encouraged by his great success in the management of cotton-factories in Manchester, he had already formed the intention of conducting New Lanark on higher principles than the current commercial ones.

The factory of New Lanark had been started in 1784 by Dale and Arkwright, the water-power afforded by the falls of the Clyde being the great attraction. Connected with the mills were about two thousand people, five hundred of whom were children, brought, most of them, at the age of five or six from the poor-houses and charities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The children especially had been well treated by Dale, but the general condition of the people was very unsatisfactory. Many of them were the lowest of the population, the respectable country-people refusing to submit to the long hours and demoralising drudgery of the factories. Theft, drunkenness, and other vices were common; education and sanitation were alike neglected; most families lived only in one room.

It was this population, thus committed to his care, which Owen now set himself to elevate and ameliorate. He greatly improved their houses, and by the unsparing and benevolent exertion of his personal influence trained them to habits of order, cleanliness, and thrift. He opened a store, where the people could buy goods of the soundest quality at little more than cost price; and the sale of drink was placed under the strictest supervision. His greatest success, however, was in the

education of the young, to which he devoted special attention. He was the founder of infant schools in Great Britain; and, though he was anticipated by Continental reformers, he seems to have been led to institute them by his own views of what education ought to be, and without hint from abroad.

In all these plans Owen obtained the most gratifying success. Though at first regarded with suspicion as a stranger, he soon won the confidence of his people. The mills continued to prosper commercially, but it is needless to say that some of Owen's schemes involved considerable expense, which was displeasing to his partners. Wearied at last of the restrictions imposed on him by men who wished to conduct the business on the ordinary principles, Owen, in 1813, formed a new firm, whose members, content with 5 per cent of return for their capital, would be ready to give freer scope to his philanthropy. In this firm Jeremy Bentham and the well-known Quaker, William Allen, were partners.

In the same year Owen first appeared as an author of essays, in which he expounded the principles on which his system of educational philanthropy was based. From an early age he had lost all belief in the prevailing forms of religion, and had thought out a creed for himself, which he considered an entirely new and original discovery. The chief points in this philosophy were that man's character is made not by him but for him; that it has been formed by circumstances over which he had no control; that he is not a proper subject either of praise or blame—these principles leading

up to the practical conclusion that the great secret in the right formation of man's character is to place him under the proper influences, physical, moral, and social, from his earliest years. These principles, of the irresponsibility of man and of the effect of early influences, are the keynote of Owen's whole system of education and social amelioration. As we have said, they are embodied in his first work, *A New View of Society ; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character*, the first of these essays (there are four in all) being published in 1813. It is needless to say that Owen's new views theoretically belong to a very old system of philosophy, and that his originality is to be found only in his benevolent application of them.

For the next few years Owen's work at New Lanark continued to have a national and even a European significance. His schemes for the education of his workpeople attained to something like completion on the opening of the institution at New Lanark in 1816. He was a zealous supporter of the factory legislation resulting in the Act of 1819, which, however, greatly disappointed him. He had interviews and communications with the leading members of Government, including the Premier, Lord Liverpool, and with many of the rulers and leading statesmen of the Continent. New Lanark itself became a much-frequented place of pilgrimage for social reformers, statesmen, and royal personages, amongst whom was Nicholas, afterwards Emperor of Russia. According to the unanimous testi-

mony of all who visited it, the results achieved by Owen were singularly good. The manners of the children, brought up under his system, were beautifully graceful, genial, and unconstrained; health, plenty, and contentment prevailed; drunkenness was almost unknown, and illegitimacy was extremely rare. The most perfect good-feeling subsisted between Owen and his work-people; all the operations of the mill proceeded with the utmost smoothness and regularity; and the business still enjoyed great prosperity.

Hitherto Owen's work had been that of a philanthropist, whose great distinction was the originality and unwearying unselfishness of his methods. His first departure in socialism took place in 1817, and was embodied in a report communicated to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law. The general misery and stagnation of trade consequent on the termination of the great war were engrossing the attention of the country. After clearly tracing the special causes connected with the war which had led to such a deplorable state of things, Owen pointed out that the permanent cause of distress was to be found in the competition of human labour with machinery, and that the only effective remedy was the united action of men, and the subordination of machinery. His proposals for the treatment of pauperism were based on these principles.

He recommended that communities of about twelve hundred persons should be settled on spaces of land of from 1000 to 1500 acres, all living in one large build-

ing in the form of a square, with public kitchen and mess-rooms. Each family should have its own private apartments, and the entire care of the children till the age of three, after which they should be brought up by the community, their parents having access to them at meals and all other proper times. These communities might be established by individuals, by parishes, by counties, or by the State; in every case there should be effective supervision by duly qualified persons. Work, and the enjoyment of its results, should be in common.

The size of his community was no doubt partly suggested by his village of New Lanark; and he soon proceeded to advocate such a scheme as the best form for the reorganisation of society in general. In its fully developed form—and it cannot be said to have changed much during Owen's lifetime—it was as follows. He considered an association of from 500 to 3000 as the fit number for a good working community. While mainly agricultural, it should possess all the best machinery, should offer every variety of employment, and should, as far as possible, be self-contained. In other words, his communities were intended to be self-dependent units, which should provide the best education and the constant exercise of unselfish intelligence, should unite the advantages of town and country life, and should correct the monotonous activity of the factory with the freest variety of occupation, while utilising all the latest improvements in industrial technique. 'As these townships,' as he also called them, 'should increase in number, unions of them federatively united

shall be formed in circles of tens, hundreds, and thousands,' till they should embrace the whole world in one great republic with a common interest.

His plans for the cure of pauperism were received with great favour. The *Times* and the *Morning Post*, and many of the leading men of the country, countenanced them ; one of his most steadfast friends was the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. He had indeed gained the ear of the country, and had the prospect before him of a great career as a social reformer, when he went out of his way at a large meeting in London to declare his hostility to all the received forms of religion. After this defiance to the religious sentiment of the country, Owen's theories were in the popular mind associated with infidelity, and were henceforward suspected and discredited.

Owen's own confidence, however, remained unshaken, and he was anxious that his scheme for establishing a community should be tested. At last, in 1825, such an experiment was attempted under the direction of his disciple, Abram Combe, at Orbiston, near Glasgow ; and in the same year Owen himself commenced another at New Harmony, in Indiana, America. After a trial of about two years both failed completely. Neither of them was a pauper experiment ; but it must be said that the members were of the most motley description, many worthy people of the highest aims being mixed with vagrants, adventurers, and crotchety wrong-headed enthusiasts.

After a long period of friction with William Allen

and some of his other partners, Owen resigned all connection with New Lanark in 1828. On his return from America he made London the centre of his activity. Most of his means having been sunk in the New Harmony experiment, he was no longer a flourishing capitalist, but the head of a vigorous propaganda, in which socialism and secularism were combined. One of the most interesting features of the movement at this period was the establishment in 1832 of an equitable labour exchange system, in which exchange was effected by means of labour notes, the usual means of exchange and the usual middlemen being alike superseded. The word 'socialism' first became current in the discussions of the Association of all Classes of all Nations, formed by Owen in 1835.

During these years also his secularistic teaching gained such influence among the working classes as to give occasion, in 1839, for the statement in the *Westminster Review* that his principles were the actual creed of a great portion of them. His views on marriage, which were certainly lax, gave just ground for offence. At this period some more communistic experiments were made, of which the most important were that at Ralahine, in the county of Clare, Ireland, and that at Tytherly, in Hampshire. It is admitted that the former, which was established in 1839, was a remarkable success for three and a half years, till the proprietor, who had granted the use of the land, having ruined himself by gambling, was obliged to sell out. Tytherly, begun in 1839, was an absolute failure. By 1846 the only

permanent result of Owen's agitation, so zealously carried on by public meetings, pamphlets, periodicals, and occasional treatises, was the co-operative movement, and for the time even that seemed to have utterly collapsed. In his later years Owen became a firm believer in spiritualism. He died in 1858 at his native town at the age of eighty-seven.

The causes of Owen's failure in establishing his communities are obvious enough. Apart from the difficulties inherent in socialism, he injured the social cause by going out of his way to attack the historic religions and the accepted views on marriage, by his tediousness, quixotry, and over-confidence, by refusing to see that for the mass of men measures of transition from an old to a new system must be adopted. If he had been truer to his earlier methods and retained the autocratic guidance of his experiments, the chances of success would have been greater. Above all, Owen had too great faith in human nature, and he did not understand the laws of social evolution. His great doctrine of the influence of circumstances in the formation of character was only a very crude way of expressing the law of social continuity so much emphasised by recent socialism. He thought that he could break the chain of continuity, and as by magic create a new set of circumstances, which would forthwith produce a new generation of rational and unselfish men. The time was too strong for him, and the current of English history swept past him.

Even a very brief account of Owen, however, would

be incomplete without indicating his relation to Malthus. Against Malthus he showed that the wealth of the country had, in consequence of mechanical improvement, increased out of all proportion to the population. The problem, therefore, was not to restrict population, but to institute rational social arrangements and to secure a fair distribution of wealth. Whenever the number of inhabitants in any of his communities increased beyond the maximum, new ones should be created, until they should extend over the whole world. There would be no fear of over-population for a long time to come. Its evils were then felt in Ireland and other countries; but that condition of things was owing to the total want of the most ordinary common sense on the part of the blinded authorities of the world. The period would probably never arrive when the earth would be full; but, if it should, the human race would be good, intelligent, and rational, and would know much better than the present irrational generation how to provide for the occurrence. Such was Owen's socialistic treatment of the population problem.

Robert Owen was essentially a pioneer, whose work and influence it would be unjust to measure by their tangible results. Apart from his socialistic theories, it should, nevertheless, be remembered that he was one of the foremost and most energetic promoters of many movements of acknowledged and enduring usefulness. He was the founder of infant schools in England; he was the first to introduce reasonably short hours into factory labour, and zealously promoted factory legisla-

tion—one of the most needed and most beneficial reforms of the century; and he was the real founder of the co-operative movement. In general education, in sanitary reform, and in his sound and humanitarian views of common life, he was far in advance of his time. Like Fourier, also, he did the great service of calling attention to the advantages which might be obtained in the social development of the future from the reorganisation of the commune, or self-governing local group of workers.

Still, he had many serious faults; all that was quixotic, crude, and superficial in his views became more prominent in his later years, and by the extravagance of his advocacy of them he did vital injury to the cause he had at heart. In his personal character he was without reproach—frank, benevolent, and straightforward to a fault; and he pursued the altruistic schemes in which he spent all his means with more earnestness than most men devote to the accumulation of a fortune.

In England the reform of 1832 had the same effect as the revolution of July (1830) in France: it brought the middle class into power, and by the exclusion of the workmen emphasised their existence as a separate class. The discontent of the workmen now found expression in Chartism. As is obvious from the contents of the Charter, Chartism was most prominently a demand for political reform; but both in its origin and in its ultimate aim the movement was more essentially economic. As regards the study of socialism, the

interest of this movement lies greatly in the fact that in its organs the doctrine of 'surplus value,' afterwards elaborated by Marx as the basis of his system, is broadly and emphatically enunciated. While the worker produces all the wealth, he is obliged to content himself with the meagre share necessary to support his existence, and the surplus goes to the capitalist, who, with the king, the priests, lords, esquires, and gentlemen, lives upon the labour of the working man (*Poor Man's Guardian*, 1835).

After the downfall of Owenism began the Christian socialist movement in England (1848-52), of which the leaders were Maurice, Kingsley, and Mr. Ludlow. The abortive Chartist demonstration of April 1848 excited in Maurice and his friends the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of the English working class—a feeling which was intensified by the revelations regarding 'London Labour and the London Poor' published in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849. Mr. Ludlow, who had in France become acquainted with the theories of Fourier, was the economist of the movement, and it was with him that the idea originated of starting co-operative associations.

In *Politics for the People*, in the *Christian Socialist*, in the pulpit and on the platform, and in *Yeast* and *Alton Locke*, well-known novels of Kingsley, the representatives of the movement exposed the evils of the competitive system, carried on an unsparing warfare against the Manchester School, and maintained that socialism, rightly understood, was only Christianity applied to

social reform. Their labours in insisting on ethical and spiritual principles as the true bonds of society, in promoting associations, and in diffusing a knowledge of co-operation, were largely beneficial. In the north of England they joined hands with the co-operative movement inaugurated by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844 under the influence of Owenism. Productive co-operation made very little progress, but co-operative distribution soon proved a great success.

CHAPTER V

FERDINAND LASSALLE

I. LIFE

IN 1852 the twofold socialist movement in France and England had come to an end, leaving no visible result of any importance. From that date the most prominent leaders of socialism have been German and Russian.

German socialists also played a part in the revolution of 1848 and in the years that preceded it; but as the work that makes their names really historical was not performed till a later period, we have postponed the consideration of it till now, when we can treat it as a whole. The most conspicuous chiefs of German socialism have been Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Lassalle, and Rodbertus. Of these, Lassalle¹ was the first to make his mark in history as the originator of the Social Democratic movement in Germany.

Ferdinand Lassalle was born at Breslau in 1825.

¹ The most important works of Lassalle are mentioned in the text. See Georg Brandes, *Ferdinand Lassalle*; Franz Mehring, *Die Deutsche Social-demokratie, ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre*; W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*.

Like Karl Marx, the chief of international socialism, he was of Jewish extraction. His father, a prosperous merchant in Breslau, intended Ferdinand for a business career, and with this view sent him to the commercial school at Leipsic; but the boy, having no liking for that kind of life, got himself transferred to the university, first at Breslau, and afterwards at Berlin. His favourite studies were philology and philosophy; he became an ardent Hegelian, and in politics was one of the most advanced. Having completed his university studies in 1845, he began to write a work on *Heracleitus* from the Hegelian point of view; but it was soon interrupted by more stirring interests, and did not see the light for many years.

From the Rhine country, where he settled for a time, he went to Paris, and made the acquaintance of his great compatriot Heine, who conceived for him the deepest sympathy and admiration. In the letter of introduction to Varnhagen von Ense, which the poet gave Lassalle when he returned to Berlin, there is a striking portrait of the future agitator. Heine speaks of his friend Lassalle as a young man of the most remarkable endowments, in whom the widest knowledge, the greatest acuteness, and the richest gifts of expression are combined with an energy and practical ability which excite his astonishment; but adds, in his half-mocking way, that he is a genuine son of the new era, without even the pretence of modesty or self-denial, who will assert and enjoy himself in the world of realities. At Berlin, Lassalle became a favourite in some

of the most distinguished circles; even the veteran Humboldt was fascinated by him, and used to call him the *Wunderkind*.

Here it was also, early in 1846, that he met the lady with whom his life was to be associated in so striking a way, the Countess Hatzfeldt. She had been separated from her husband for many years, and was at feud with him on questions of property and the custody of their children. With characteristic energy Lassalle adopted the cause of the countess, whom he believed to have been outrageously wronged, made a special study of law, and, after bringing the case before thirty-six tribunals, reduced the powerful count to a compromise on terms most favourable to his client.

The process, which lasted eight years, gave rise to not a little scandal, especially that of the *Cassetten-geschichte*. This 'affair of the casket' arose out of an attempt by the countess's friends to get possession of a bond for a large life-annuity settled by the count on his mistress, a Baroness Meyendorf, to the prejudice of the countess and her children. At the instigation of Lassalle, two of his comrades succeeded in carrying off a casket, which was supposed to contain the document in question (but which really contained her jewels), from the baroness's room at a hotel in Cologne. They were prosecuted for theft, one of them being condemned to six months' imprisonment. Lassalle himself was accused of moral complicity, but was acquitted on appeal.

His intimate relations with the countess, which con-

tinued till the end, certainly did not tend to improve Lassalle's position in German society. Rightly or wrongly, people had an unfavourable impression of him, as of an adventurer. Here we can but say that he claimed to act from the noblest motives; in the individual lot and suffering of the countess he saw the social misery of the time reflected, and his assertion of her cause was a moral insurrection against it. While the case was pending, he gave the countess a share of his allowance from his father; and after it was won, he received according to agreement, from the now ample resources of the lady, an annual income of four thousand thalers (£600). Added to his own private means, this sum placed the finances of Lassalle on a sure footing for the rest of his life. His conduct was a mixture of chivalry and business, which every one must judge for himself. It was certainly not in accordance with the conventionalities, but for these Lassalle never entertained much respect.

In 1848 Lassalle attached himself to the group of men, Karl Marx, Engels, Freiligrath, and others, who in the Rhine country represented the socialistic and extreme democratic side of the revolution, and whose organ was the *New Rhenish Gazette*. But the activity of Lassalle was only local and subordinate. He was, however, condemned to six months' imprisonment for resisting the authorities at Dusseldorf. On that occasion Lassalle prepared the first of those speeches which made so great an impression on the men of his time; but it was not delivered. It contains the

first important statement of his social and political opinions. 'I will always joyfully confess,' he said, 'that from inner conviction I am a decided adherent of the Social Democratic republic.'

Till 1858 Lassalle resided mostly in the Rhine country, prosecuting the suit of his friend the countess, and afterwards completing his work on Heracleitus, which was published in that year. He was not allowed to live in Berlin because of his connection with the disturbances of 1848. In 1859 he returned to the capital disguised as a carter, and finally, through the influence of Humboldt with the king, received permission to remain.

In the same year he published a remarkable pamphlet on *The Italian War and the Mission of Prussia*, in which he came forward to warn his countrymen against going to the rescue of Austria in her war with France. He argued that if France drove Austria out of Italy she might annex Savoy, but could not prevent the restoration of Italian unity under Victor Emmanuel. France was doing the work of Germany by weakening Austria, the great cause of German disunion and weakness; Prussia should form an alliance with France in order to drive out Austria and make herself supreme in Germany. After their realisation by Bismarck, these ideas have become sufficiently commonplace; but they were nowise obvious when thus published by Lassalle. In this, as in other matters, he showed that he possessed both the insight and foresight of a statesman.

In the course of the Hatzfeldt suit Lassalle had acquired no little knowledge of law, which proved serviceable to him in the great work, *System of Acquired Rights*, published in 1861. The book professes to be, and in a great measure is, an application of the historical method to legal ideas and institutions; but it is largely dominated also by abstract conceptions, which are not really drawn from history, but read into it. The results of his investigation are sufficiently revolutionary; in the legal sphere they go even farther than his socialistic writings in the economic and political. But with one important exception he made no attempt to base his socialistic agitation on his *System of Acquired Rights*; it simply remained a learned work.

Hitherto Lassalle had been known only as the author of two learned works, and as connected with one of the most extraordinary lawsuits of the nineteenth century, which had become a widespread scandal. Now began the brief activity which was to give him an historical significance. His revolutionary activity in 1848, though only a short phase in his career, was not an accident; it represented a permanent feature of his character. In him the student and the man of action were combined in a notable manner, but the craving for effective action was eminently strong. The revolutionary and the active elements in his strangely mixed nature had for want of an opportunity been for many years in abeyance.

A rare opportunity had at last come for asserting

his old convictions. In the struggle between the Prussian Government and the Opposition he saw an opportunity for vindicating a great cause, that of the working men, which would outflank the Liberalism of the middle classes, and might command the sympathy and respect of the Government. But his political programme was entirely subordinate to the social, that of bettering the condition of the working classes; and he believed that as their champion he might have such influence in the Prussian State as to determine it on entering on a great career of social amelioration.

The social activity of Lassalle dates from the year 1862. It was a time of new life in Germany. The forces destined to transform the Germany of Hegel into the Germany of Bismarck were preparing. The time for the restoration and unification of the Fatherland under the leadership of Prussia had come. The nation that had so long been foremost in philosophy and theory was to take a leading place in the practical walks of national life, in war and politics, and in the modern methods of industry. The man who died as first German Emperor of the new order ascended the throne of Prussia in 1861. Bismarck, whose mission it was to take the chief part in this great transformation, entered on the scene as Chief Minister of Prussia in the autumn of 1862. The Progressist party, that phase of German Liberalism which was to offer such bitter opposition both to Bismarck and Lassalle, came into existence in 1861.

For accomplishing this world-historic change the

decisive factor was the Prussian army. The new rulers of Prussia clearly saw that for the success of their plans everything would depend on the efficiency of the army. But on the question of its reorganisation they came into conflict with the Liberals, who, failing to comprehend the policy of Bismarck, refused him the supplies necessary for realising ideals dear to every German patriot.

In the controversy so bitterly waged between the Prussian monarchy and the Liberals, Lassalle intervened. As might be expected, he was not a man to be bound by the formulas of Prussian Liberalism, and in a lecture, *On the Nature of a Constitution*, delivered early in 1862, he expounded views entirely at variance with them. In this lecture his aim was to show that a constitution is not a theory or a document written on paper; it is the expression of the strongest political forces of the time. The king, the nobility, the middle class, the working class, all these are forces in the polity of Prussia; but the strongest of all is the king, who possesses in the army a means of political power, which is organised, excellently disciplined, always at hand, and always ready to march. The army is the basis of the actual working constitution of Prussia. In the struggle against a Government resting on such a basis, verbal protests and compromises were of no avail.

In a second lecture, *What Next?* Lassalle proceeded to maintain that there was only one method for effectually resisting the Government, to proclaim the facts of the political situation as they were, and then

to retire from the Chamber. By remaining they only gave a false appearance of legality to the doings of the Government. If they withdrew it must yield, as in the present state of political opinion in Prussia and in civilised Europe no Government could exist in defiance of the wishes of the people.

In a pamphlet subsequently published under the title of *Might and Right*, Lassalle defended himself against the accusation that in these lectures he had subordinated the claims of Right to those of Force. He had, he said, not been expressing his own views of what ought to be; he had simply been elucidating facts in an historical way, he had only been explaining the real nature of the situation. He now went on to declare that no one in the Prussian State had any right to speak of Right but the old and genuine democracy. It had always cleaved to the Right, degrading itself by no compromise with power. With the democracy alone is Right, and with it alone will be Might.

We need not say that these utterances of Lassalle had no influence on the march of events. The rulers pushed on the reorganising of the army with supplies obtained without the consent of the Prussian Chambers, the Liberal members protesting in vain till the great victory over Austria in 1866 furnished an ample justification for the policy of Bismarck.

But their publication marked an important crisis in his own career, for they did not recommend him to the favourable consideration of the German Liberals with whom he had previously endeavoured to act. He and

they never had much sympathy for one another. They were fettered by formulas as well as wanting in energy and initiative. On the other hand, his adventurous career; his temperament, which disposed him to rebel against the conventionalities and formulas generally; his loyalty to the extreme democracy of 1848, all brought him into disharmony with the current Liberalism of his time. They gave him no tokens of their confidence, and he chose a path of his own.

A more decisive step in a new direction was taken in 1862 by his lecture, *The Working-Men's Programme; On the special Connection of the Present Epoch of History with the Idea of the Working Class*. The gist of this lecture was to show that we are now entering on a new era of history, of which the working class are the makers and representatives. It is a masterly performance, lucid in style, and scientific in method of treatment. Yet this did not save its author from the attentions of the Prussian police. Lassalle was brought to trial on the charge of exciting the poor against the rich, and in spite of an able defence, published under the title of *Science and the Workers*, he was condemned to four months' imprisonment. But he appealed, and on the second hearing of the case made such an impression on the judges that the sentence was commuted into a fine of £15.

Such proceedings naturally brought Lassalle into prominence as the exponent of a new way of thinking on social and political subjects. A section of the working men were, like himself, discontented with the

current German Liberalism. The old democracy of 1848 was beginning to awake from the apathy and lassitude consequent on the failures of that troubled period. Men imbued with the traditions and aspirations of such a time could not be satisfied with the half-hearted programme of the Progressists, who would not decide on adopting universal suffrage as part of their policy, yet wished to utilise the workmen for their own ends. A Liberalism which had not the courage to be frankly democratic, could only be a temporary and unsatisfactory phase of political development.

This discontent found expression at Leipsic, where a body of workmen, displeased with the Progressists, yet undecided as to any clear line of policy, had formed a Central Committee for the calling together of a Working Men's Congress. With Lassalle, they had common ground in their discontent with the Progressists, and to him in 1863 they applied, in the hope that he might suggest a definite line of action. Lassalle replied in an *Open Letter*, with a political and social-economic programme, which, for lucidity and comprehensiveness of statement, left nothing to be desired. In the *Working Men's Programme*, Lassalle had drawn the rough outlines of a new historic period, in which the interests of labour should be paramount; in the *Open Letter* he expounds the political, social, and economic principles which should guide the working men in inaugurating the new era. The *Open Letter* has well been called the Charter of German Socialism. It was the first historic

act in a new stage of social development. We need not say that it marked the definite rupture of Lassalle with German Liberalism.

In the *Open Letter* the guiding principles of the Social Democratic agitation of Lassalle are given with absolute clearness and decision: that the working men should form an independent political party—one, however, in which the political programme should be entirely subordinated to the great social end of improving the condition of their class; that the schemes of Schulze-Delitzsch¹ for this end were inadequate; that the operation of the iron law of wages prevented any real improvement under the existing conditions; that productive associations, by which the workmen should secure the full product of their labour, should be established by the State, founded on universal suffrage, and therefore truly representative of the people. The Leipsic Committee accepted the policy thus sketched, and invited him to address them in person. After hearing him the meeting voted in his favour by a majority of 1300 against 7.

A subsequent appearance at Frankfort-on-the-Main was even more flattering to Lassalle. In that as in most other towns of Germany the workmen were generally disposed to support Schulze and the Pro-

¹ Schulze-Delitzsch was born in 1808 at Delitzsch, in Prussian Saxony, whence the second part of his name, to distinguish him from the many other people in Germany who bear the familiar name of Schulze. It was his great merit that he founded the co-operative movement in Germany on principles of self-help. He was a leading member of the Progressist party.

gressist party. Lassalle therefore had the hard task of conciliating and gaining a hearing from a hostile audience. His first speech, four hours in length, met at times with a stormy reception, and was frequently interrupted. Yet he gained the sympathy of his audience by his eloquence and the intrinsic interest of his matter, and the applause increased as he went on. When, two days afterwards, he addressed them a second time, the assembly voted for Lassalle by 400 to 40. It was really a great triumph. Like Napoleon, he had, he said, beaten the enemy with their own troops. On the following day he addressed a meeting at Mainz, where 700 workmen unanimously declared in his favour.

These successes seemed to justify Lassalle in taking the decisive step of his agitation—the foundation of the Universal German Working Men's Association, which followed at Leipsic on May 23, 1863. Its programme was a simple one, containing only one point—universal suffrage. 'Proceeding from the conviction that only through equal and direct universal suffrage¹ can a sufficient representation of the social interests of the German working class and a real removal of class antagonisms in society be realised, the Association pursues the aim, in a peaceful and legal way, especially by winning over public opinion, to work for the establishment of equal and direct universal suffrage.'

¹ In contrast to the unequal and indirect system existing in Prussia, according to which the voters are on a property basis divided into three classes. The voters thus arranged choose bodies of electors, by whom the members for the Chamber are chosen.

Hitherto Lassalle had been an isolated individual, expressing on his own responsibility an opinion on the topics of the day. He was elected President, for five years, of the newly founded Association, and was therefore the head of a new movement. He had crossed the Rubicon, not without hesitation and misgiving.

In the summer of 1863 little was accomplished. The membership of the Association grew but slowly, and, according to his wont, Lassalle retired to the baths to recruit his health. In the autumn he renewed his agitation by a 'review' of his forces on the Rhine, where the workmen were most enthusiastic in his favour. But the severest crisis of his agitation befell during the winter of 1863-4. At this period his labours were almost more than human; he wrote his *Bastiat-Schulze*,¹ a considerable treatise, in about three months, defended himself before the courts both of Berlin and the Rhine in elaborate speeches, conducted the affairs of his Association in all their troublesome details, and often before stormy and hostile audiences gave a succession of addresses, the aim of which was the conquest of Berlin.

Lassalle's *Bastiat-Schulze*, his largest economic work, bears all the marks of the haste and feverishness of the time that gave it birth. It contains passages in the worst possible taste; the coarseness and scurrility of his treatment of Schulze are absolutely unjustifiable. The book consists of barren and unprofitable contro-

¹ Bastiat was the populariser in France of the orthodox Political Economy. Lassalle accused Schulze of being a mere echo of Bastiat's superficial views, and therefore called him Bastiat-Schulze.

versy, interspersed with philosophic statements of his economic position, and even they are often crude, confused, and exaggerated. Controversy is usually the most unsatisfactory department of literature, and of the various forms of controversy that of Lassalle is the least to be desired, consisting as it so largely did of supercilious verbal and captious objection. The book as a whole is far below the level of the *Working Men's Programme* and the *Open Letter*.

After all these labours little wonder that we find him writing, on the 14th of February: 'I am tired to death, and strong as my constitution is, it is shaking to the core. My excitement is so great that I can no longer sleep at night; I toss about on my bed till five o'clock, and rise up with aching head, and entirely exhausted. I am overworked, overtasked, and overtired in the frightfullest degree; the mad effort, beside my other labours, to finish the *Bastiat-Schulze* in three months, the profound and painful disappointment, the cankering inner disgust, caused by the indifference and apathy of the working class taken as a whole—all has been too much even for me.'

Clearly the great agitator needed rest, and he decided to seek it, as usual, at the baths. But before he retired, he desired once more to refresh his weary soul in the sympathetic enthusiasm which he anticipated from his devoted adherents on the Rhine. Accordingly, on the 8th May 1864, Lassalle departed for the 'glorious review of his army' in the Rhine country. 'He spoke,' Mehring tells us, 'on May 14th at Solingen, on the

15th at Barmen, on the 16th at Cologne, on the 18th at Wermelskirchen.' His journey was like a royal progress or a triumphal procession, except that the joy of the people was perfectly spontaneous. Thousands of workmen received him with acclamations; crowds pressed upon him to shake hands with him, to exchange friendly greetings with him.

On the 22nd May, the first anniversary festival of the Universal Association, held at Ronsdorf, the enthusiasm reached its climax. Old and young, men and women, went forth to meet him as he approached the town; and he entered it through triumphal arches, under a deluge of flowers thrown from the hands of working girls, amidst jubilation indescribable. Writing to the Countess of Hatzfeldt about this time of the impression made on his mind by his reception on the Rhine, Lassalle says, 'I had the feeling that such scenes must have been witnessed at the founding of new religions.'

The speech of Lassalle at Ronsdorf corresponded in character with the enthusiasm and exaltation of such a time and such an audience. The King of Prussia had recently listened with favour to the grievances of a deputation of Silesian weavers, and promised to help them out of his own purse. Von Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz, had published a short treatise, in which he expressed his agreement with Lassalle's criticism of the existing economic system. As his manner was, Lassalle did not under-estimate the value of those expressions of opinion. 'We have compelled,' he declared, 'the

workmen, the people, the bishops, the king, to bear testimony to the truth of our principles.'

It would be easy to ridicule the enthusiasm for Lassalle entertained by those workmen on the Rhine, but it will be more profitable if we pause for a moment to realise the world-historic pathos of the scene. For the first time for many centuries we see the working men of Germany aroused from their hereditary degradation, apathy, and hopelessness. Change after change had passed in the higher sphere of politics. One conqueror after another had traversed these Rhine countries, but, whoever lost or won, it was the working man who had to pay with his sweat and toil and sorrow. He was the anvil on which the hammer of those iron times had fallen without mercy and without intermission. His doom it was to drudge, to be fleeced, to be drilled and marched off to fight battles in which he had no interest. Brief and fitful gleams of a wild and desperate hope had visited these poor people before, only to go out again in utter darkness; but now in a sky which had so long been black and dull with monotonous misery, the rays were discernible of approaching dawn, a shining light which would grow into a more perfect day. For in the process of history the time had come when the suffering which had so long been dumb should find a voice that would be heard over the world, should find an organisation that would compel the attention of rulers and all men.

Such a cause can be most effectually furthered by wise and sane leadership; yet it is also well when it is

not too dependent on the guidance of those who seek to control it. The career of Lassalle always had its unpleasant features. He liked the passing effect too well. He was too fond of display and pleasure. In much that he did there is a note of exaggeration, bordering on insincerity. As his agitation proceeded, this feature of his character becomes more marked. Some of his addresses to the workmen remind us too forcibly of the bulletins of the first Napoleon. He was not always careful to have the firm ground of fact and reality beneath his feet. Many of his critics speak of the failure of his agitation; with no good reason, considering how short a time it had continued, hardly more than a year. Lassalle himself was greatly disappointed with the comparatively little success he had attained. He had not the patience to wait till the sure operation of truth and fact and the justice of the cause he fought for should bring him the reward it merited. On all these grounds we cannot consider the event which so unworthily closed his life as an accident; it was the melancholy outcome of the weaker elements in his strangely mixed character.

While posing as the spokesman of the poor, Lassalle was a man of decidedly fashionable and luxurious habits. His suppers were well known as among the most exquisite in Berlin. It was the most piquant feature of his life that he, one of the gilded youth, a connoisseur in wines, and a learned man to boot, had become agitator and the champion of the workers. In one of the literary and fashionable circles of Berlin he

had met a young lady, a Fräulein von Dönniges, for whom he at once felt a passion which was ardently reciprocated. He met her again on the Rigi, in the summer of 1864, when they resolved to marry. She was a young lady of twenty, decidedly unconventional and original in character. It would appear from her own confession that she had not always respected the sacred German morality.

But she had for father a Bavarian diplomatist then resident in Geneva, who was angry beyond all bounds when he heard of the proposed match, and would have absolutely nothing to do with Lassalle. The lady was imprisoned in her own room, and soon, apparently under the influence of very questionable pressure, renounced Lassalle in favour of another admirer, a Wallachian, Count von Racowitza. Lassalle, who had resorted to every available means to gain his end, was now mad with rage, and sent a challenge both to the lady's father and her betrothed, which was accepted by the latter. At the Carouge, a suburb of Geneva, the meeting took place on the morning of August 28, 1864. Lassalle was mortally wounded, and died on the 31st of the same month. In spite of such a foolish ending, his funeral was that of a martyr, and by many of his adherents he has since been regarded with feelings almost of religious devotion.

How the career of Lassalle might have shaped itself in the new Germany under the system of universal suffrage which was adopted only three years after his death, is an interesting subject of speculation. He

could not have remained inactive, and he certainly would not have been hindered by *doctrinaire* scruples from playing an effective part, even though it were by some kind of alliance with the Government. His ambition and his energy were alike boundless. In the heyday of his passion for Fräulein von Dönniges his dream was to be installed as the President of the German Republic with her elevated by his side. As it was, his position at his death was rapidly becoming difficult and even untenable; he was involved in a net of prosecutions which were fast closing round him. He would soon have had no alternative but exile or a prolonged imprisonment.

Lassalle was undoubtedly a man of the most extraordinary endowments. The reader of his works feels that he is in the presence of a mind of a very high order. Both in his works and in his life we find an exceptional combination of gifts, philosophic power, eloquence, enthusiasm, practical energy, a dominating force of will. Born of a cosmopolitan race, which has produced so many men little trammelled by the conventionalism of the old European societies, he was to a remarkable degree original and free from social prejudice; was one of the men in whom the spirit of daring initiative is to a remarkable degree active. He had in fact a revolutionary temperament, disciplined by the study of German philosophy, by the sense of the greatness of Prussia's historic mission, and by a considerable measure of practical insight, for in this he was not by any means wanting. In Marx we see the same temperament, only

in his case it was stronger, more solid, self-restrained, matured by wider reflection, and especially by the study of the economic development of Europe, continued for a period of forty years.

But on the whole, Lassalle was a *vis intemperata*. He was deficient in sober-mindedness, self-control, and in that saving gift of common sense, without which the highest endowments may be unprofitable and even hurtful to their possessors and to the world. His ambitions were not pure; he had a histrionic as well as a revolutionary temperament; he was lacking also in self-respect; above all, he had not sufficient reverence for the great and sacred cause of which he had become the champion, a cause which is fitted to claim the highest motives, the purest ambitions, the most noble enthusiasms. His vanity, his want of self-restraint, his deficient sense of the seriousness of his mission as a Social Democratic leader, in these we see the failings that proved his undoing. Throughout the miserable intrigue in which he met his death a simple, straightforward sense of what was right and becoming would at once have saved him from ruin. Yet he was privileged to inaugurate a great movement. As the founder of the Social Democracy of Germany, he has earned a place on the roll of historic names. He possessed in a notable degree the originality, energy, and sympathy which fit a man to be the champion of a new cause.

We may go farther and say that at that date Germany had only two men whose insight into the facts and tendencies of their time was in some real degree

adequate to the occasion—Bismarck and Lassalle. The former represented a historic cause, which was ready for action, the regeneration and unification of Germany to be accomplished by the Prussian army. The cause which Lassalle brought to the front was at a very different stage of progress. The working men, its promoters and representatives, and Lassalle, its champion, had not attained to anything like clearness either as to the end to be gained or the means for accomplishing it. It was only at the crudest and most confused initial stage.

II. THEORIES OF LASSALLE

The socialistic position of Lassalle may generally be described as similar to that of Rodbertus and Karl Marx. He admits his indebtedness to both of those writers, but at the same time he cannot be regarded as a disciple of either of them. Lassalle himself was a thinker of great original power; he had his own way of conceiving and expressing the historic socialism.

Lassalle supplies the key to his general position in the preface to his *Bastiat-Schulze*, when, quoting from his *System of Acquired Rights*, he says: In social matters the world is confronted with the question, whether now when property in the direct utilisation of another man no longer exists, such property in his indirect exploitation should continue—that is, whether the free realisation and development of our labour-force should be the exclusive private property of the possessor of capital, and whether the employer as such, and apart from the remuneration of his intellectual labour, should be permitted to appropriate the result of other men's labours.¹ This sentence, he says, contains the programme of a national-economic work, which he intended to write under the title, *Outlines of a Scientific National Economy*. In this sentence also, we need not say, the fundamental position of socialism is implied. He was about to carry out his project when the Leipsic

¹ *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. iii., Berlin 1878.

Central Committee brought the question before him in a practical form. The agitation broke out and left him no leisure for such a work. But he had often lamented that the exposition of the theory had not preceded the practical agitation, and that a scientific basis had not been provided for it.

The *Bastiat-Schulze* was itself a controversial work, written to meet the needs of the hour. Lassalle has never given a full and systematic exposition of his socialistic theory. All his social-economic writings were published as the crises of his agitation seemed to demand. But, as he himself says, they compensate by the life and incisiveness of the polemical form of treatment for what they lose in systematic value. We may add that it is often a scientific gain, for in the career of Lassalle we see socialism confronted with fact, and thereby to a large extent saved from the absoluteness, abstractness, and deficient sense of reality which detract so much from the value of the works of Marx and Rodbertus. The excessive love of system so characteristic of German theorists may be as remote from historic reality and possibility as the utopian schemes of French socialists. It is, however, also a natural result of Lassalle's mode of presentation that he is not always consistent with himself either on practical or theoretical questions, especially in his attitude towards the Prussian State.

On the whole, we can most clearly and comprehensively bring out the views of Lassalle if we follow the order in which they are presented in his three leading

works, the *Working Men's Programme*, the *Open Letter*, and the *Bastiat-Schulze*.

The central theme of the *Working Men's Programme* is the *vocation of the working class* as the makers and representatives of a new era in the history of the world. We have seen that Lassalle's *System of Acquired Rights* was an application of the historical method to legal ideas and institutions. In his social-economic writings we find the application of the same method to economic facts and institutions. The *Working Men's Programme* is a brilliant example of the historical method, and indeed is a lucid review of the economic development of Europe, culminating in the working men's State, the full-grown democracy.

In the mediæval world the owners of land controlled politics, the army, law, and taxation in their own interest, while labour was oppressed and despised. The present *régime* of the capitalist classes is due to a gradual process of development continued for centuries, and is the product of many forces which have acted and reacted on each other: the invention of the mariner's compass and of gunpowder; abroad the discovery of America and of the sea-route to India; at home the overthrow of the feudal houses by a central government, which established a regular justice, security of property, and better means of communication. This was to be followed in time by the development of machinery, like the cotton-spinning machine of Arkwright, itself the living embodiment of the industrial and economic revolution, which was destined to

produce a corresponding political change. The new machinery, the large industry, the division of labour, cheap goods, and the world-market—these were all parts of an organic whole. Production in mass made cheap goods possible; the cheapening of commodities called forth a wider market, and the wider market led to a still larger production.

The rulers of the industrial world, the capitalists, became the rulers also of the political; the French Revolution was merely a proclamation of a mighty fact which had already established itself in the most advanced portions of Europe. But the marvellous enthusiasm of the Revolution was kindled by the fact that its champions at the time represented the cause of humanity. Before long, however, it became manifest that the new rulers fought for the interests of a class, the *bourgeoisie*; and another class, that of the proletariat, or unpropertied workers, began to define itself in opposition to them. Like their predecessors, the *bourgeoisie* wielded the legal and political power for their own selfish ends. They made wealth the test and basis of political and social right; they established a restricted franchise; shackled the free expression of opinion by cautions and taxes on newspapers, and threw the burden of taxation on the working classes.

We have seen that the development of the middle class was a slow and gradual process, the complex result of a complex mass of forces. Considering that the special theme of the *Working Men's Programme* is the historical function of the working class, it is cer-

tainly a most serious defect of Lassalle's exposition that he says so little of the causes which have conditioned the development of the working class as the representatives of a new era. Their appearance on the pages of Lassalle as the supporters of a great *rôle* is far too sudden.

On the 24th of February 1848, he says, broke the first dawn of a new historical period. On that day in France a revolution broke out, which called a workman into the Provisional Government; which declared the aim of the State to be the improvement of the lot of the working class; and which proclaimed direct and universal suffrage, whereby every citizen who had attained the age of twenty-one should, without regard to property, have an equal share in all political activity. The working class were therefore destined to be the rulers and makers of a new society. But the rule of the working class had this enormous difference from other forms of class rule, that it admits of no special privilege.

We are all workers, in so far as we have the will in any way to make ourselves useful to the human society. The working class is therefore identical with the whole human race. Its cause is in truth the cause of entire humanity, its freedom is the freedom of humanity itself, its rule is the rule of all.

The formal means of realising this is direct universal suffrage, which is no magic wand, but which at least can rectify its own mistakes. It is the lance which heals the wounds itself has made. Under universal suffrage the legislature is the true mirror of the people

that has chosen it, reflecting its defects, but its progress also, for which it affords unlimited expression and development.

The people must therefore always regard direct universal suffrage as its indispensable political weapon, as the most fundamental and weightiest of its demands. And we need not fear that they will abuse their power; for while the position and interests of the old privileged classes became inconsistent with the general progress of humanity, the mass of the people must know that their interests can be advanced only by promoting the good of their whole class. Even a very moderate sense of their own welfare must teach them that each individual can separately do very little to improve his condition. They can prevail only by union. Thus their personal interest, instead of being opposed to the movement of history, coincides with the development of the whole people and is in harmony with freedom, culture, and the highest ideas of our time.

This masterly treatise of Lassalle concludes with an appeal to the working class, in which we see the great agitator reach the high level of a pure and noble eloquence. Having shown at length that the working class are called to be the creators and representatives of a new historical era, he proceeds: 'From what we have said there follows for all who belong to the working class the duty of an entirely new bearing.

'Nothing is more suited to stamp on a class a worthy and deeply moral impress than the consciousness that it is called to be the ruling class, that it is appointed

to raise its principle to be the principle of an entire epoch, to make its idea the ruling idea of the whole society, and so again to mould society after its own pattern. The high world-historic honour of this vocation must occupy all your thoughts. The vices of the oppressed, the idle amusements of the thoughtless, and the harmless frivolity of the unimportant beseech you no longer. Ye are the rock on which the church of the future should be built.'

Pity that in the miserable squabble which terminated his life he did not realise that the leader of the working class should also be inspired by a sense of the nobility of his calling.

This exposition of the vocation of the working class is closely connected with another notable feature of Lassalle's teaching, his *Theory of the State*. Lassalle's theory of the State differs entirely from that generally held by the Liberal school. The Liberal school hold that the function of the State consists simply in protecting the personal freedom and the property of the individual. This he scouts as a night-watchman's idea, because it conceives the State under the image of a night-watchman, whose sole function it is to prevent robbery and burglary.

In opposition to this narrow idea of the State, Lassalle quotes approvingly the view of August Boeckh: 'That we must widen our notion of the State so as to believe that the State is the institution in which the whole virtue of humanity should be realised.'

History, Lassalle tells us, is an incessant struggle

with Nature, with the misery, ignorance, poverty, weakness, and unfreedom in which the human race was originally placed.¹ The progressive victory over this weakness, that is the development of the freedom which history depicts.

In this struggle, if the individual had been left to himself, he could have made no progress. The State it is which has the function to accomplish this development of freedom, this development of the human race in the way of freedom. The duty of the State is to enable the individual to reach a sum of culture, power, and freedom, which for individuals would be absolutely unattainable. The aim of the State is to bring human nature to positive unfolding and progressive development—in other words, to realise the chief end of man: it is the education and development of the human race in the way of freedom.

The State should be the complement of the individual. It must be ready to offer a helping hand, wherever and whenever individuals are unable to realise the happiness, freedom, and culture which befit a human being.

Save the State, that primitive vestal fire of culture, from the modern barbarians, he exclaims on another occasion.

To these political conceptions Lassalle is true throughout. It certainly is a nobler and more rational ideal of the State than the once prevalent Manchester theory. When we descend from theory to practice all obviously

¹ See *Working Men's Programme*.

depends on what kind of State we have got, and on the circumstances and conditions under which it is called upon to act.

That the State should, through its various organs, support and develop individual effort, calling it forth, rendering it hopeful and effectual, never weakening the springs of it, but stimulating and completing it, is a position which most thinkers would now accept. And most will admit with regret that the existing State is too much a great taxing and fighting machine. The field of inquiry here opened up is a wide and tempting one, on which we cannot now enter. We are at present concerned with the fact that the State help contemplated by Lassalle was meant not only to leave the individual free, but to further him in the free realisation of himself.

The *Iron Law of Wages* may well be described as the key to Lassalle's social-economic position. It holds the same prominent place in his system of thinking as the theory of surplus value does in that of Marx. Both, it may be added, are only different aspects of the same fact. Lassalle insists chiefly on the small share of the produce of labour which goes to the labourer; Marx traces the history of the share, called surplus value, which goes to the capitalist.

Lassalle's most careful statement of the Iron Law, to which he frequently recurs in subsequent writings, is contained in his *Open Letter* (p. 13). 'The Iron Economic Law, which, in existing circumstances, under the law of supply and demand for labour, determines

the wage, is this: that the average wage always remains reduced to the necessary provision which, according to the customary standard of living, is required for subsistence and for propagation. This is the point about which the real wage continually oscillates, without ever being able long to rise above it or to fall below it. It cannot permanently rise above this average level, because in consequence of the easier and better condition of the workers there would be an increase of marriages and births among them, an increase of the working population and thereby of the supply of labour, which would bring the wage down to its previous level or even below it. On the other hand, the wage cannot permanently fall below this necessary subsistence, because then occur emigration, abstinence from marriage, and, lastly, a diminution of the number of workmen caused by their misery, which lessens the supply of labour, and therefore once more raises the wage to its previous rate.'

On a nearer consideration, Lassalle goes on to say, the effect of the Iron Law is as follows:—

'From the produce of labour so much is taken and distributed among the workmen as is required for their subsistence.

'The entire surplus of production falls to the capitalist. It is therefore a result of the Iron Law that the workman is necessarily excluded from the benefits of an increasing production, from the increased productivity of his own labour.'¹

¹ See *Open Letter*.

Such is Lassalle's theory of the Iron Law of Wages. He accepts it as taught by Ricardo and the economists of the orthodox school in England, France, and Germany. We believe that his statement of it is substantially just and accurate; that it fairly reflects the economic science of his time, and, under the then prevailing economic conditions, may be described as a valid law.

Lassalle held that the customary standard of living and the operation of the law generally were subject to variation. Still it may reasonably be maintained that he has not sufficiently considered the fact that, like capital, the Iron Law of Wages is an historical category. He has not overlooked the fact, and could hardly do so, as the Iron Law is an implicate and result of the domination of capital. But his method of exposition is too much the controversial one, of pressing it as an *argumentum ad hominem* against his opponents in Germany, and, as usual, in controversy truth is liable to suffer. It may therefore be argued that under the competitive system as now existing, changes have occurred which render Lassalle's theory of the Iron Law inaccurate and untenable. Even while the present system continues to prevail, the law may undergo very extensive modification through the progress of education and organisation among the workmen, and through the general advance of society in morality and enlightenment. The question of modification of the Iron Law is one of degree, and it may fairly be contended by critics of Lassalle that he has not recognised it to a sufficient degree.

On the other hand, it may also be rationally maintained that in so far as education and organisation prevail among the workmen, in so far does capitalism, with all its conditions and implicates, tend to be superseded. Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Factory Legislation, are all forms of the social control of economic processes, inconsistent with competitive economics. The more they gain ground, the more does capitalism tend to break up and disappear. From this higher point of view, we may fairly contend that considerations which have been urged as destructive of Lassalle's argument are really symptoms of the decline of capitalism. The Iron Law is an inevitable result of the historical conditions contemplated by Lassalle. These conditions have changed, but the change means that capitalism is passing away. We are thus thrown back on the wider question, whether capitalism is disappearing, a question which it would at present be premature to discuss.

In any case the position of Lassalle is perfectly clear. He accepted the orthodox political economy in order to show that the inevitable operation of its laws left no hope for the working class; and that no remedy could be found except by abolishing the conditions in which those laws have their validity—in other words, by abolishing the present relations of labour and capital altogether. The great aim of his agitation was to bring forward a scheme which would strike at the root of the evil. The remedy for the evil condition of things connected with the Iron Law of Wages is to secure the workmen the full produce of their labour, by

combining the functions of workmen and capitalists through the establishment of productive associations. The distinction between labourer and capitalist is thereby abolished. The workman becomes producer, and for remuneration receives the entire produce of his labour.

The associations founded by Schulze - Delitzsch, Lassalle went on to argue, would effect no substantial improvement in the condition of the working class. The unions for the supply of credit and raw materials do not benefit the working class as such, but only the small hand-workers. But hand-labour is an antiquated form of industry, which is destined to succumb before the large industry equipped with machinery and an adequate capital. To provide the hand-workers with the means of continuing their obsolete trades is only to prolong the agony of an assured defeat.

The consumers' unions, or co-operative stores as we call them in England, also fail, because they do not help the workman at the point where he needs it most, as producers. Before the seller, as before the policeman, all men are equal; the only thing the seller cares for is that his customers are able to pay. In discussing the Iron Law, we saw that the workman must be helped as producer—that is, in securing a better share of his product. The consumers' unions may indeed give a restricted and temporary relief. So long as the unions include only a limited number of workmen, they afford relief by cheapening the means of subsistence, inasmuch

as they do not lower the general rate of wages. But in proportion as the unions embrace the entire working class and thereby cause a general cheapening of the means of subsistence, the Iron Law of Wages will take effect. For the average wage is only the expression in money of the customary means of subsistence. The average wage will fall in proportion to the general cheapening of the means of subsistence, and all the pains taken by the workmen in founding and conducting the consumers' unions will be labour lost. They will only enable the workman to subsist on a smaller wage.

The only effectual way to improve the condition of the working class is through the free individual association of the workers, by its application and extension to the great industry. The working class must be its own capitalist.

But when the workmen on the one hand contemplate the enormous sums required for railways and factories, and on the other hand consider the emptiness of their own pockets, they may naturally ask where they are to obtain the capital needed for the great industry? The State alone can furnish it; and the State ought to furnish it, because it is, and always has been, the duty of the State to promote and facilitate the great progressive movements of civilisation. *Productive association with State credit* was the plan of Lassalle.¹

The State had already in numerous instances guaranteed its credit for industrial undertakings by which

¹ See *Open Letter*, passim.

the rich classes had benefited—canals, postal services, banks, agricultural improvements, and especially with regard to railways. No outcry of socialism or communism had been raised against this form of State help? Then why raise it when the greatest problem of modern civilisation was involved—the improvement of the lot of the working classes? Lassalle's estimate was, that the loan of a hundred million thalers (£15,000,000) would be more than sufficient to bring the principle of association into full movement throughout the kingdom of Prussia.

Obviously the money required for the promotion of productive associations did not require to be actually paid by the Government; only the State guarantee for the loan was necessary. The State would see that proper rules for the associations should be made and observed by them. It would reserve to itself the rights of a creditor or sleeping partner. It would generally take care that the funds be put to their legitimate use. But its control would not pass beyond those reasonable limits: the associations would be free; they would be the voluntary act of the working men themselves. Above all, the State, thus supporting and controlling the associations, would be a democratic State, elected by universal suffrage, the organ of the workers, who form an overwhelming majority of every community.

But if we are to conceive the matter in the crudest way and consider the money as actually paid, wherein would the enormity of such a transaction consist? The State had spent hundreds of millions in war, to

appease the wounded vanity of royal mistresses, to satisfy the lust of conquest of princes, to open up markets for the middle classes; yet when the deliverance of humanity is concerned the money cannot be procured!

Further, as he takes care to explain, Lassalle did not propose his scheme of productive associations as the solution of the social question. The solution of the social question would demand generations. He proposed his scheme as the means of transition, as the easiest and mildest means of transition.¹ It was the germ, the organic principle of an incessant development. Lassalle has indicated, though only in vague outline, how such an organic development of productive associations should proceed. They would begin in populous centres, in cases where the nature of the industry, and the voluntary inclination of the workmen to association, would facilitate their formation. Industries, which are mutually dependent and work into each other's hands, would be united by a credit union; and there would further be an insurance union, embracing the different associations, which would reduce their losses to a minimum. The risks would be greatly lessened as a speculative industry constantly tending to anarchy, and all the evils of competition would be superseded by an organised industry; over-production would give place to production in advance. In this way the associations would grow until they embraced the entire industry of the country. And the general application of the principle would give an enormous

¹ See *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. 189.

advantage in international competition to the country adopting it, for it would be rational, systematic, and in every way more effective and economical.

The goal of the whole development, as conceived by Lassalle, was a *collectivism* of the same type as that contemplated by Marx and Rodbertus. 'Division of labour,' he says, 'is really common labour, social combination for production. This, the real nature of production, needs only to be explicitly recognised. In the total production, therefore, it is merely requisite to abolish individual portions of capital, and to conduct the labour of society, which is already common, with the common capital of society, and to distribute the result of production among all who have contributed to it, in proportion to their performance.'¹

In the controversial work against Schulze-Delitzsch, Lassalle has at greater length expounded his general position in opposition to the individualist theories of his opponents. He contends that progress has not proceeded from the individual; it has always proceeded from the community. In this connection he sums up briefly the history of social development.

The entire ancient world, and also the whole mediæval period down to the French Revolution of 1789, sought human solidarity and community in bondage or subjection.

The French Revolution of 1789, and the historical period controlled by it, rightly incensed at this subjection, sought freedom in the dissolution of all solidarity

¹ *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. 188.

and community. Thereby, however, it gained, not freedom, but license. Because freedom without community is license.

The new, the present period, seeks solidarity in freedom.¹ He then proceeds in his *theory of conjunctures* to prove that, instead of each man being economically responsible for what he has done, each man is really responsible for what he has not done. The economic fate of the individual is determined by circumstances over which he has no control, or very little. What does Lassalle mean by a *conjuncture*? We can best understand it by reference to a great economic crisis which has occurred since his time. No better example of a *conjuncture* can be found than in the recent history of British agriculture. In 1876, agriculture, still the most important industry of the country, began to be seriously threatened by American competition. The crisis caused by the low prices due to this competition was greatly aggravated by bad seasons, such as that of 1879. The farmers, obliged to pay rent out of capital, were many of them ruined. In consequence of the diminished application of capital to land the opportunities of labour were greatly lessened. Rents could no longer be paid as formerly. All three classes directly concerned in English agriculture suffered fearfully, without any special individual responsibility in the matter. In Ireland, where the difficulty, great in itself, was intensified by the national idea, an economic crisis grew into a great political and imperial crisis. In the eyes of the

¹ *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. 18.

impartial inquirer, who of all the millions of sufferers was personally responsible ?

Such wide-spread disasters are common in recent economic history. They are a necessary result of a competitive system of industry. Lassalle is justly angry with the one-sided and ill-instructed economists that would hold the individual responsible for his fate in such a crisis. Statesmen little understand their duty who would leave their subjects without help in these times of distress. And it must always be a praiseworthy feature of socialism that it seeks to establish social control of these *conjunctures* as far as possible, and to minimise their disastrous effects by giving social support to those menaced by them.

The main burden of the *Bastiat-Schulze* is Lassalle's account of capital and labour.

For Lassalle *capital is a historic category*, a product of historical circumstances, the rise of which we can trace, the disappearance of which, under altered circumstances, we can foresee.

In other words, capital is the name for a system of economic, social, and legal conditions, which are the result severally and collectively of a long and gradual process of historical development. The *Bastiat-Schulze* is an elucidation of these conditions. The following may be taken as a general statement of them :—

(1) The division of labour in connection with the large industry.

(2) A system of production for exchange in the great world-markets.

(3) Free competition.

(4) The instruments of labour, the property of a special class, who after paying

(5) A class of free labourers in accordance with the Iron Law of Wages, pocket the surplus value. Property consists not in the fruit of one's own labour, but in the appropriation of that of others. *Eigenthum ist Fremdthum geworden.*¹

In this way capital has become an independent, active, and self-generating power which oppresses its producer. Money makes money. The labour of the past, appropriated and capitalised, crushes the labour of the present. 'The dead captures the living.' 'The instrument of labour, which has become independent, and has exchanged rôles with the workmen, which has degraded the living workmen to a dead instrument of labour, and has developed itself, the dead instrument of labour, into the living organ of production—that is capital.'² In such highly metaphorical language does Lassalle sum up his history of capital. We have already commented on that aspect of it, the Iron Law of Wages, which Lassalle has most emphasised. The whole subject is much more comprehensively treated in the *Kapital* of Karl Marx; therefore we need not dwell upon it further at present.

It will not be wrong, however, to say a word here about the use of the word capital, as current in the school of socialists to which Lassalle and Marx belong. It is not applied by them in its purely economic sense, as wealth utilised for further production: it is used as

¹ *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. 186.

² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

the name of the social and economic system in which the owners of capital are the dominant power. With them it is the economic factor as operating under the existing legal and social conditions, with all these conditions clinging to it. It would be much better to restrict the word to its proper economic use, and employ the new word capitalism as a fairly accurate name for the existing system.

The function of capital under all social systems and at all historical epochs is fundamentally the same; it is simply wealth used for the production of more wealth. But the historical, legal, and political conditions under which it is utilised vary indefinitely, as do also the technical forms in which it is embodied.

No real excuse can be offered for the ignorance or confusion of language of controversialists who maintain that the object of socialism is to abolish capital. So far from abolishing capital, socialists wish to make it still more effective for social well-being by placing it under social control. What they wish to abolish is the existing system, in which capital is under the control of a class. It would be a considerable gain in clearness if this system were always called capitalism.

We have already remarked upon Lassalle's theory of the State, and his treatment of the Iron Law of Wages. Our further criticism of his social-economic position can best be brought out by reference to his controversy with Schulze-Delitzsch, the economic representative of German Liberalism.

In general it may be said that Lassalle meets the

one-sided individualism of Schulze by a statement of the socialistic theory, which is also one-sided and exaggerated. His view of the influence of the community as compared with that of the individual is the most prominent example of this. The only accurate social philosophy is one which gives due attention to both factors; both are of supreme importance, and either may fitly be the starting-point of investigation and discussion.

His theory of conjunctures is overstated. It is to a considerable degree well founded; in the great economic storms which sweep over the civilised world the fate of the individual is largely determined by conditions over which he has no control. Yet now as ever the homely virtues of industry, energy, sobriety, and prudence do materially determine the individual career.

For our present purpose, however, it is more important to consider Lassalle's polemic against the practical proposals of his opponent. Lassalle contended that the unions for providing credit and raw material would benefit the hand-workers only, whereas hand-labour is destined to disappear before the large industry. But, we may ask, why should not such methods of mutual help be utilised for associations of working men even more than for isolated workers? These unions may be regarded as affording only a very partial and limited relief to the workmen, but why should the principle of association among workmen stop there?

The system of voluntary co-operation must begin somewhere; it began most naturally and reasonably

with such unions, and it proceeds most naturally and reasonably along the line of least resistance to further development. In these unions the workmen have been acquiring the capital and experience necessary for further progress. No limit can be assigned to the possible evolution of the system. They are properly to be regarded as only the first beginnings of social control over the economic processes, the goal and consummation of which we find in socialism. If in the controversial struggle Lassalle had listened to the clear voice of science, he would have seen that, for his opponent as well as for himself, he must maintain that all social institutions are subject to and capable of development.

For the methods of Schulze it may be claimed that they do not provide a ready-made solution of the social question, but they are a beginning. For the associations of Schulze, not less than for those of Lassalle, we may contend that they supply the organic principle of an incessant development. In this way the workmen may attain to the complete management of their own industrial interests with their own joint capital. They may thus obtain for themselves the full product of their labour, in which case the objection of Lassalle, with regard to the increase of population, under the influence of the cheap provisions supplied by the stores, would no more apply to the scheme of Schulze than they would to his own. In both cases we are to suppose that the means of subsistence would be more abundant and more easily obtained; in both cases there might be the risk

of a too rapidly increasing population. We may suppose that this increase of population would be met by a still greater increase in the product of labour, all going to the workers. But for the schemes of Schulze there would be this great advantage that, the capital and experience of the workers having been acquired by their own exertions, they would have all the superior training requisite for the solution of the population question, and all other questions, which can be obtained only from a long course of social discipline.

Lassalle would have done well to remember his own statement, that the only real point of difference between them was, that one believed in State help, and the other in 'self help.' And we may further ask, Do the two exclude each other?

In fact, the controversy, considered purely on its merits, was barren enough. Yet it led to profitable results, inasmuch as it directed the mind of Germany to the questions involved, and led to a more thorough discussion of them.

Better, however, than any argument which can be urged is the verdict of history on the merits of the question, as already pronounced during the period which has elapsed since the date of the controversy. In 1885, just twenty-one years after the bitter controversy between the two representatives of State help and self help, the societies established by Schulze in Germany alone possessed one hundred million thalers of capital of their own. It will be remembered that this is the amount of the loan required by Lassalle from the State

to bring his productive associations into operation. If the workmen fail in productive association, it will not be, as Lassalle maintained, for want of capital. Productive association with State credit is therefore not the only way out of the wilderness.

Must we go further and say that Lassalle's method of State help was not the right method at all? It is certain that the Government of Germany, though organised on the principle of universal suffrage, has *not* granted the credit demanded by Lassalle, and that his agitation in this matter has failed owing, it might be alleged, to his early death, and to the fact that since his time German socialism has prematurely moved on international, and even anti-national, lines, thus alienating from itself the sympathies of the Emperor and his Chancellor. We need not say how very improbable it is that the German Government would have guaranteed its credit, however submissive and conciliatory the attitude of the Social Democrats might have been. The Social Democrats themselves, though they gave a place to Lassalle's scheme on the Gotha programme of 1875, seem now disposed to attach little or no importance to it. It does not appear in the Erfurt programme of the party, which was adopted in 1891. In short, Lassalle's agitation has in the point immediately in question been a failure. At the same time, it would be absolutely incorrect to assert that experience has pronounced against his scheme, inasmuch as no Government has ever seriously taken it in hand.

Like many other pioneers, Lassalle has not accom-

plished what he intended, yet he has achieved great results. We cannot quite accept the dictum of Schiller, that the world's history is the world's judgment. We are not prepared to believe that all things that have succeeded were good, and all things that have failed were evil; or that things are good or evil only in so far as they succeed or fail. Still, we may well sum up the controversy between Lassalle and Schulze by stating that in 1885 the societies founded by the latter had in Germany a membership of 1,500,000 with a capital of £15,000,000, and at the election of 1890 the Social Democracy of Germany, originated by Lassalle, polled 1,427,000 votes. Both have done great things, which are destined to be greater still. In this, as in so many other instances, the course of history has not respected the narrow limits prescribed to it by controversialists.

We need not, however, insist further on the details of Lassalle's controversy with Schulze-Delitzsch. Much more important is it to recall the leading aspects of his teaching. What Lassalle contemplated and contended for was a democracy in which the claims of Might and Right should be reconciled, a democracy of working men, guided by science, and through universal suffrage constituting a State which would rise to the high level of its function as representative and promoter of freedom, culture, morality, and progress in the fullest and deepest significance of those great ideas. Above all, this democracy was to be a social democracy, in which the political idea should be subordinate to the social; hence the duty of the State at least to initiate the solution

of the social question by granting credit for productive associations. But this was only to be a beginning; the solution of the social question must be ardently worked out for generations until labour should be entirely emancipated.

With such an ideal, contrast the Prussian-German State as it actually is. The German State must still find its basis in the army and police, the most intelligent of the working class being in profound discontent. It is a fact worth considering by our economists and politicians, that the *élite* of the working men of probably the best educated and most thoughtful nation in the world have gone over to the Social Democratic party. Nor can the German or any other State devote itself heartily to the solution of the social question, for Europe is like a vast camp, in which science and finance are strained to the uttermost in order to devise and provide instruments for the destruction of our fellow-men. Of this state of things the present Emperor who ascended the throne in 1888 is only the too willing representative; but even if he were inclined, he would be powerless to prevent it, as its causes are too deeply rooted in human nature and in the present stage of social development to be removed by anything less than a profound change in the motives and conditions of life. The historical antecedents and geographical position of Germany are such that it must long continue to be a military State; and most other nations have hindrances of their own. Reformers must therefore wait long and strive earnestly

before they can hope to see such an ideal as that of Lassalle realised. That the ideal was a noble one, and that the gratitude of all lovers of progress is due to him for his energetic and eloquent advocacy of it, notwithstanding certain unworthy passages in his career, few will deny.

CHAPTER VI

RODBERTUS

To those who identify socialism with the extreme revolutionary spirit, Rodbertus is naturally an enigma. Everything characteristic of Rodbertus is an express contradiction of their notion of a socialist. He was a Prussian lawyer and landowner, a quiet and cultured student, who disliked revolution and even agitation. It was a marked feature of his teaching also, that he meant the socialist development to proceed on national lines and under national control. Yet it is impossible to give any reasonable account of socialism that will exclude Rodbertus. Clearly the only right way out of the dilemma for those who are caught in it is to widen their conception of the subject; and Rodbertus will become perfectly clear and intelligible.

Karl Johann Rodbertus, by some considered to be the founder of scientific socialism, was born at Greifswald on 12th August 1805, his father being a professor at the university there. He studied law at Göttingen and Berlin, thereafter engaging in various legal occupations; and, after travelling for some time, he bought the estate of Jagetzow, in Pomerania, whence his name

of Rodbertus-Jagetzow. In 1836 he settled on this estate, and henceforward devoted his life chiefly to economic and other learned studies, taking also some interest in local and provincial affairs.

After the revolution of March 1848 Rodbertus was elected member of the Prussian National Assembly, in which body he belonged to the Left Centre; and for fourteen days he filled the post of Minister of Public Worship and Education. He sat for Berlin in the Second Chamber of 1849, and moved the adoption of the Frankfort imperial constitution, which was carried. Then came the failure of the revolutionary movement in Prussia, as elsewhere in Europe, and Rodbertus retired into private life. When the system of dividing the Prussian electorate into three classes was adopted, Rodbertus recommended abstention from voting. His only subsequent appearance in public life was his candidature for the first North German Diet, in which he was defeated.

His correspondence with Lassalle was an interesting feature of his life. At one time Rodbertus had some intention of forming a social party with the help of the conservative socialist Rudolf Meyer and of Hasenclever, a prominent follower of Lassalle; but no progress was made in this. Rodbertus was neither disposed nor qualified to be an agitator, being a man of a calm and critical temperament, who believed that society could not be improved by violent changes, but by a long and gradual course of development. He warned the working men of Germany against connect-

ing themselves with any political party, enjoining them to be a social party pure and simple. He died on 8th December 1875.

The general position of Rodbertus was 'social, monarchical, and national.' With his entire soul he held the purely economic part of the creed of the German Social Democratic party, yet he did not agree with their methods, and had no liking for the productive associations with State help of Lassalle. He regarded a socialistic republic as a possible thing, but he cordially accepted the monarchic institution in his own country, and hoped that a German emperor might undertake the rôle of a social emperor. He was also a true patriot, and was proud and hopeful of the career that lay before the regenerated empire of Germany.

The basis of the economic teaching of Rodbertus is the principle laid down by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and insisted on by all the later socialists, that labour is the source and measure of value. In connection with this he developed the position that rent, profit, and wages are all parts of a national income produced by the united organic labour of the workers of the community. Consequently there can be no talk of the wages of labour being paid out of capital; wages is only that part of the national income which is received by the workmen, of a national income which they have themselves entirely produced. The wages fund theory is thus summarily disposed of.

But the most important result of the theory is his position that the possession of land and capital enables

the landholders and capitalists to compel the workmen to divide the product of their labour with those non-working classes, and in such a proportion that the workers only obtain as much as can support them in life. Thus the Iron Law of Wages is established. Hence also Rodbertus deduces his theory of commercial crises and of pauperism, and in the following way: In spite of the increasing productivity of labour, the workers obtain in general only sufficient to support their class, and therefore a smaller relative share of the national income. But the producers form also the large mass of consumers, and, with the decline of their relative share in the national income, must decline the relative purchasing power of this large class of the people. The growing production is not met by a correspondingly growing consumption; expansion is succeeded by contraction of production, by a scarcity of employment, and a further decline in purchasing power on the part of the workers. Thus we have a commercial crisis bringing with it pauperism as a necessary result. In the meantime the purchasing power of the non-producing capitalists and landholders continues relatively to increase; but, as they have already had enough to buy all the comforts of life, they spend the more in the purchase of luxuries, the production of which increases.

A fundamental part of the teaching of Rodbertus is his theory of social development. He recognised three stages in the economic progress of mankind: (1) the ancient heathen period in which property in human

beings was the rule; (2) the period of private property in land and capital; (3) the period, still remote, of property as dependent on service or desert. The goal of the human race is to be one society organised on a communistic basis; only in that way can the principle that every man be rewarded according to his work be realised. In this communistic or socialistic State of the future, land and capital will be national property, and the entire national production will be under national control; and means will be taken so to estimate the labour of each citizen that he shall be rewarded according to its precise amount. An immense staff of State officials will be required for this function. As we have already said, Rodbertus believed that this stage of social development is yet far distant; he thought that five centuries will need to pass away before the ethical force of the people can be equal to it.

From what we have already said, it will be understood that by his temperament, culture, and social position Rodbertus was entirely averse to agitation as a means of hastening the new era; and in the measures which he recommends for making the transition towards it he showed a scrupulous regard for the existing interests of the capitalists and landholders. He proposed that those two classes should be left in full possession of their present share of the national income, but that the workers should reap the benefit of the increasing production. To secure them this increment of production he proposed that the State should fix a normal working day for the various trades, a normal day's work, and a

legal wage, the amount of which should be revised periodically, and raised according to the increase of production, the better workman receiving a better wage. By measures such as these, carried out by the State in order to correct the evils of competition, would Rodbertus seek to make the transition into the socialistic era.

The economic work of Rodbertus is therefore an attempt made in a temperate and scientific spirit to elucidate the evil tendencies inherent in the competitive system, especially as exemplified in the operation of the Iron Law of Wages. The remedy he proposes is a State management of production and distribution, which shall extend more and more, till we arrive at a complete and universal socialism—and all based on the principle that, as labour is the source of value, so to the labourer should all wealth belong.

It is hardly necessary further to dwell on the theories of Rodbertus. The general outlines of his teaching are clear enough, and the details could be properly treated only in a work specially devoted to him. In some leading features his economic position is the same as that of Marx and Lassalle. The chief difference lies in the application of their principles. We have seen that he expects the Prussian or German State to adopt his theories, but the interest we can have in the very remote realisation of them in this way naturally cannot be very great. It was unreasonable to believe that the people of Germany would make no use of their newly acquired political rights to promote their social claims;

and it is needless to say that a socialistic evolution slowly carried out under an army of officials is not a very inviting prospect.

On the recent political economy of Germany, especially as represented by Adolf Wagner, Rodbertus has exercised a great influence. For many he is the founder of a truly scientific socialism. His criticism of the leading principles of economics has led them to make important changes in the statement and treatment of their science.¹

¹ The following are the most important works of Rodbertus :—*Zur Erkenntniss unserer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände* (1842); *Sociale Briefe an von Kirchmann* (1850); *Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes* (2nd ed., 1876); 'Der Normal-arbeitstag,' in *Tüb. Zeitschrift* (1878); Letters to A. Wagner, etc., *Tüb. Zeitschrift* (1878-79); Letters to Rudolf Meyer (1882). See also Adolf Wagner (*Tüb. Zeitschrift* (1878); Kozak's work on Rodbertus (1882); an excellent monograph by G. Adler (Leipsic, 1884); and Prof. Gonner's *Social Philosophy of Rodbertus* (London, 1899).

CHAPTER VII

KARL MARX

THE greatest and most influential name in the history of socialism is unquestionably Karl Marx. He and his like-minded companion Engels are the acknowledged heads of the 'scientific and revolutionary' school of socialism, which has its representatives in almost every country of the civilised world, and is generally recognised as the most serious and formidable form of the new teaching.

Like Ferdinand Lassalle, Karl Marx was of Jewish extraction. It is said that from the time of his father, back to the sixteenth century, his ancestors had been rabbis.¹ Marx was born at Treves in 1818, where his father belonged to the legal profession. Both parents were highly cultured and raised above the traditions and prejudices of their race. In 1824, when Marx was six years of age, the family passed over from Judaism to the profession of the Christian faith.

Brought up under very favourable circumstances, ardent and energetic, and endowed with the highest

¹ Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, part i. p. 156.

natural gifts, the young Marx speedily assimilated the best learning that Germany could then provide. At the universities of Bonn and Berlin he studied law to please his father, but following his own bent he gave his time much more to history and philosophy. Hegel was still about the zenith of his influence, and Marx was a zealous student, and for some time an adherent of the reigning school. In 1841 Marx finished his studies and gained the degree of doctor with an essay on the philosophy of Epicurus. This was destined to close his connection with the German universities. He had intended to settle at Bonn as teacher of philosophy, but the treatment which his friend Bruno Bauer as teacher of theology in the same university experienced at the hands of the Prussian minister Eichhorn, deterred him from following out his purpose.

In truth, Marx's revolutionary temperament was little suited to the routine of the German man of learning, and the political conditions of Prussia gave no scope for free activity in any department of its national life. Marx therefore could only enter the ranks of the opposition, and early in 1842 he joined the staff of the *Rhenish Gazette*, published at Cologne as an organ of the extreme democracy. He was for a short time editor of the paper. During his connection with it he carried on an unsparing warfare against the Prussian reaction, and left it before its suppression by the Prussian Government, when it sought by compromise to avoid that fate.

In the same year, 1843, Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, who belonged to a family of good position

in the official circles of the Rhine country. Her brother was subsequently Prussian minister. It was a most happy marriage. Through all the trials and privations of a revolutionary career Marx found in his wife a brave, steadfast, and sympathetic companion.

Soon after his marriage Marx removed to Paris, where he applied himself to the study of the questions to which his life and activity were henceforward to be entirely devoted. All his life he appears to have worked with extraordinary intensity. At Paris he lived in close intercourse with the leading French socialists; with Proudhon he often spent whole nights in the discussion of economic problems. His most intimate associates, however, were the German exiles. Arnold Ruge and he edited the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. He met also the greatest of the German exiles, Heine, and is said to have had a share in suggesting to the poet the writing of the celebrated *Wintermärchen*.

Most important of all those meetings in Paris, however, was that with Friedrich Engels. Friedrich Engels was the son of a manufacturer at Barmen, where he was born in 1820. Brought up to his father's business, Engels had resided for some time in Manchester. When he met Marx at Paris in 1844 the two men had already arrived at a complete community of views, and for nearly forty years continued to be loyal friends and comrades-in-arms.

Early in 1845, Marx, at the instance of Prussia, was expelled from Paris by the Guizot Ministry. Marx

settled in Brussels, where he resided three years. He gave up his Prussian citizenship without again becoming naturalised in any country. It was in 1845 that Engels published his important work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. In Brussels, in 1847, Marx published his controversial work on Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère*, entitled *Misère de la Philosophie*. Proudhon, it must be remembered, was at that time the leading name in European socialism, and Marx had been on very intimate terms with him. Marx's criticism of his friend is nevertheless most merciless. In defence of the German we can but say that such scathing methods were not unusual at that time, and that where the cause of truth and of the proletariat as he understood it was concerned, he scorned all manner of compromise and consideration for personal feelings. His book on Proudhon, in spite of its controversial form, is interesting as the first general statement of his views.

This book on Proudhon scarcely attracted any attention whatever. In the same year, 1847, he and his friend Engels had a notable opportunity for an expression of their common opinions which excited wide attention, and which has had a great and still growing influence in the cause of the working man.

A society of socialists, a kind of forerunner of the International, had established itself in London, and had been attracted by the new theories of Marx and the spirit of strong and uncompromising conviction with which he advocated them. They entered into relation with Marx and Engels; the society was reorganised

under the name of the Communist League; and a congress was held, which resulted, in 1847, in the framing of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which was published in most of the languages of Western Europe, and is the first proclamation of that revolutionary socialism armed with all the learning of the nineteenth century, but expressed with the fire and energy of the agitator, which in the International and other movements has so startled the world.

During the revolutionary troubles in 1848 Marx returned to Germany, and along with his comrades, Engels, Wolff, etc., he supported the most advanced democracy in the *New Rhenish Gazette*. In 1849 he settled in London, where he spent his after-life in the elaboration of his economic views and in the realisation of his revolutionary programme. In 1859 he published *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. This book was for the most part incorporated in the first volume of his great work on capital, *Das Kapital*, which appeared in 1867.¹ Much of his later life was spent in ill health, due to the excessive work by which he undermined a constitution that had originally been exceptionally healthy and vigorous. He died in London, March 14, 1883. It was a time of the year which had been marked by the outbreak of the Commune at Paris, and is therefore for a twofold reason a notable period in the history of the proletariat.

Since the death of Marx his great work, *Das Kapital*,

¹ An English translation of vol. i. by Messrs. Moore and Aveling has appeared, Engels being editor. There are translations also of vols. ii. and iii.

has been completed by the publication of the second and third volumes, which have been edited by Engels from manuscripts left by his friend. But neither of these two volumes has the historical interest which may fairly be claimed for the first. In 1877 Engels published on his own account a work called *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*,¹ a controversial treatise against Dühring (a teacher of philosophy in the university of Berlin) which has had considerable influence on the development of the German Social Democracy. Engels died in 1895, after loyal and consistent service in the cause of the proletariat, which extended over more than fifty years.

The causes which have variously contributed to the rise of German socialism are sufficiently clear. With the accession of the romanticist Frederick William IV. to the throne of Prussia in 1840 German liberalism received a fresh expansion. At the same time the Hegelian school began to break up, and the interest in pure philosophy began to wane. It was a time of disillusionment, of dissatisfaction with idealism, of transition to realistic and even to materialistic ways of thinking. This found strongest expression in the Hegelian left, to which, after the ideals of the old religions and philosophies had proved unsubstantial, there remained as solid residuum the real fact of man with his positive interests in this life. The devotion

¹ This book of Engels, *Eugen Dühring's Revolutionizing of Science*, is better known in its much shorter form, *Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*. Eng. tr. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

and enthusiasm which had previously been fixed on ideal and spiritual conceptions were concentrated on humanity. To adherents of the Hegelian left, who had been delivered from intellectual routine by the most intrepid spirit of criticism, and who therefore had little respect for the conventionalisms of a feudal society, it naturally appeared that the interests of humanity had been cruelly sacrificed in favour of class privilege and prejudice.

The greatest thinkers of Germany had recognised the noble elements in the French Revolution. To recognise also the noble and promising features of French socialism was a natural thing, especially for Germans who had been in Paris, the great hearth of the new ideas. Here they found themselves definitely and consciously in presence of the last and greatest interest of humanity, the suffering and struggling proletariat of Western Europe, which had so recently made its definite entry in the history of the world. Thus socialism became a social, political, and economic creed to Karl Marx and his associates. But they felt that the theories which preceded them were wanting in scientific basis; and it was henceforward the twofold aim of the school to give scientific form to socialism, and to propagate it in Europe by the best and most effective revolutionary methods.

The fundamental principle of the Marx school and of the whole cognate socialism is the theory of 'surplus value'—the doctrine, namely, that, after the labourer has been paid the wage necessary for the subsistence

of himself and family, the surplus produce of his labour is appropriated by the capitalist who exploits it. This theory is an application of the principle that labour is the source of value, which was enunciated by many of the old writers on economics, such as Locke and Petty, which was set forth with some vagueness and inconsistency by Adam Smith, and was more systematically expounded by Ricardo. The socialistic application of the principle in the doctrine of surplus value had been made both by Owenites and Chartists. It was to prevent this appropriation of surplus value by capitalists and middlemen that the Owen school tried the system of exchange by labour notes in 1832, the value of goods being estimated in labour time, represented by labour notes.

The principle that labour is the source of value has been accepted in all its logical consequences by Marx, and by him elaborated with extraordinary dialectical skill and historical learning into the most complete presentation of socialism that has ever been offered to the world. A like application of the principle, but in a less comprehensive fashion, has been made by Rodbertus; and it is the same theory that underlies the extravagances and paradoxes of Proudhon. The question whether the priority in the scientific development of the principle is due to Marx or Rodbertus cannot be discussed here. But it may be said that the theory had been set forth by Rodbertus in his first work in 1842, that the importance of the principle was understood by the Marx school as early as 1845, and

that in a broad and general way it had indeed become the common property of socialists. The historical importance and scientific worth of the writings of Rodbertus should not be overlooked ; nor are they likely to be when so much attention has been given to him by A. Wagner and other distinguished German economists.

But in the great work of Marx the socialist theory is elaborated with a fulness of learning and a logical power to which Rodbertus has no claim. With Marx the doctrine of surplus value receives its widest application and development: it supplies the key to his explanation of the history and influence of capital, and consequently of the present economic era, which is dominated by it. It is the basis, in fact, of a vast and elaborate system of social philosophy. In any case it is an absurdity as well as an historical error to speak of Marx as having borrowed from Rodbertus. Marx was an independent thinker of great originality and force of character, who had made the economic development of modern Europe the study of a laborious lifetime, and who was in the habit, not of borrowing, but of strongly asserting the results of his own research and of impressing them upon other men.

The great work of Marx may be described as an exposition and criticism of capital. But it is also indirectly an exposition of socialism, inasmuch as the historical evolution of capital is governed by natural laws, the inevitable tendency of which is towards socialism. It is the great aim of Marx to reveal the law of the economic movement of modern times. Now,

the economic movement of modern times is dominated by capital. Explain, therefore, the natural history of capital, the rise, consolidation, and decline of its supremacy as an evolutionary process, and you forecast the nature of that into which it is being transformed—socialism. Hence the great task of the Marx school is not to preach a new economic and social gospel, not to provide ready-made schemes of social regeneration after the fashion of the early socialists, nor to counteract by alleviating measures the wretchedness of our present system, but to explain and promote the inevitable process of social evolution, so that the domination of capital may run its course and give place to the higher system that is to come.

The characteristic feature of the *régime* of capital, or, as Marx usually calls it, the capitalistic method of production, is, that industrial operations are carried on by individual capitalists employing free labourers, whose sole dependence is the wage they receive. Those free labourers perform the function fulfilled in other states of society by the slave and the serf. In the development of the capitalistic system is involved the growth of the two classes,—the capitalist class, enriching itself on the profits of industry, which they control in their own interest, and the class of workers, nominally free, but without land or capital, divorced, therefore, from the means of production, and dependent on their wages—the modern proletariat. The great aim of the capitalist is the increase of wealth through the accumulation of his profits. This accumulation is secured by the

appropriation of what the socialists call surplus value. The history of the capitalistic method of production is the history of the appropriation and accumulation of surplus value. To understand the capitalistic system is to understand surplus value. With the analysis of value, therefore, the great work of Marx begins.

The wealth of the societies in which the capitalistic method of production prevails appears as an enormous collection of commodities. A commodity is in the first place an external object adapted to satisfy human wants; and this usefulness gives it value in use, makes it a use value. These use values form the material of wealth, whatever its social form may be. In modern societies, where the business of production is carried on to meet the demands of the market, for exchange, these use values appear as exchange values. Exchange value is the proportion in which use values of different kinds exchange for each other. But the enormous mass of things that circulate in the world market exchange for each other in the most different proportion. They must, however, have a common quality, or they could not be compared. This common quality cannot be any of the natural properties of the commodities. In the business of exchange one thing is as good as another, provided you have it in sufficient quantity.

Leaving out of consideration, therefore, the physical qualities that give commodities use value, we find in them but one common characteristic—that they are all products of human labour. They are all crystallised forms of human labour. It is labour applied to natural

objects that gives them value. What constitutes value is the human labour embodied in commodities. And the relation of exchange is only a phase of this value, which is therefore to be considered independently of it. Further, the labour time spent in producing value is the measure of value, not this or that individual labour, in which case a lazy or unskilled man would produce as great a quantity of value as the most skilful and energetic. We must take as our standard the average labour force of the community. The labour time which we take as the measure of value is the time required to produce a commodity under the normal social conditions of production with the average degree of skill and intensity of labour. Thus labour is both the source and the measure of value.

The conditions necessary to the existence and growth of capitalism, therefore, are as follows:—A class, who have a virtual monopoly of the means of production; another class of labourers, who are free, but destitute of the means of production; and a system of production for exchange in a world market. But it may be asked how these historical conditions were established? How did the capitalist class originate, and how were the workers divorced from the instruments of labour, and how was the world market opened up?

Such a state of things was established only after a long and gradual process of change, which Marx copiously illustrates from the history of England, as the classic land of the fully developed capitalism. In the Middle Ages the craftsman and peasant were the owners

of the small means of production then extant, and they produced for their own needs and for their feudal superior; only the superfluity went into the general market. Such production was necessarily small, limited, and technically imperfect. Towards the close of the Middle Ages a great change set in, caused by a remarkable combination of circumstances—the downfall of the feudal system and of the Catholic Church, the discovery of America and of the sea route to India. Through the breaking-up of the feudal houses with their numerous retainers, through the transformation of the old peasant-holdings into extensive sheep-runs, and generally through the prevalent application of the commercial system to the management of land, instead of the Catholic and feudal spirit, the peasantry were driven off the land; a multitude of people totally destitute of property were thrown loose from their old means of livelihood, and were reduced to vagabondage or forced into the towns. It was in this way that the modern proletarians made their tragic entry in history.

On the other hand, there was a parallel development of the capitalist class, brought about by the slave-trade, by the exploitation of the American colonies and of both the Indies, and by the robbery, violence, and corruption which attended the transference of the land from the Catholic and feudal to the modern *régime*. The opening and extension of the vast world market, moreover, gave a great stimulus to industry at home. The old guilds having already been expropriated and dissolved, the early organisation of industry under the control of

an infant capitalism passed through its first painful and laborious stages, till, with the great mechanical inventions, with the application of steam as the motive-power, and the rise of the factory system towards the close of the eighteenth century, the great industrial revolution was accomplished, and the capitalistic method of production attained to its colossal manhood.

Thus the capitalistic system was established. And we must remember that in all its forms and through all the stages of its history the great aim of the capitalist is to increase and consolidate his gains through the appropriation of surplus value. We have now to inquire how this surplus value is obtained?

The starting-point of the capitalistic system is the circulation of wares. As we have seen, the capitalistic method of production is dominated by exchange. If exchange, however, consisted merely in the giving and receiving of equivalents, there could be no acquisition of surplus value. In the process of exchange there must appear something the utilisation of which by the buyer yields a greater value than the price he pays for it.

The thing desired is found in the labour force of the workman, who, being destitute of the means of production, must have recourse to the owner of these, the capitalist. In other words, the workman appears on the market with the sole commodity of which he has to dispose, and sells it for a specified time at the price it can bring, which we call his wage, and which is equivalent to the average means of subsistence required to

support himself and to provide for the future supply of labour (in his family). But the labour force of the workman, as utilised by the capitalist in the factory or the mine, produces a net value in excess of his wage; that is, over and above his entire outlay, including the wage paid to his workmen, the capitalist finds himself in possession of a surplus, which can only represent the unpaid labour of his workmen. This surplus is the surplus value of Karl Marx, the product of unpaid labour.

This appropriation of surplus labour is a very old phenomenon in human society. In all the forms of society which depended on slave-labour, and under the feudal *régime*, the appropriation of the results of other men's labour was open, undisguised, and compulsory. Under the capitalistic system it is disguised under the form of free contract. The effect is the same. For the workman who is unprovided with the instruments of labour, whose working power is useless without them, this compulsion is not less real because it is concealed under the forms of freedom. He must agree to this free contract or starve.

It is the surplus value thus obtained which the capitalist seeks to accumulate by all the methods available. These methods are described by Marx with great detail and elaboration through several hundred pages of his first volume. His account, supported at every step by long and copious citations from the best historical authorities and from the blue-books of the various parliamentary commissions, is a lurid and ghastly

picture of the many abuses of English industrialism. It is the dark and gloomy reverse of the industrial glories of England. The fearful prolongation of the hours of labour, the merciless exploitation of women and of children from the age of infancy, the utter neglect of sanitary conditions—whatever could lessen the costs of production and swell the profits of the capitalist, though every law of man and nature were violated in the process; such are the historical facts which Marx emphasises and illustrates with an overwhelming force of evidence. They receive ample confirmation in the history of the English Factory Acts, imposed on greedy and unscrupulous capitalists after a severe struggle prolonged for half a century, and required to prevent the moral and physical ruin of the industrial population.

We must now consider the process of the development of capitalism rather more closely.¹ Under the old system industry was carried on by the individual. There could be no doubt as to the ownership of the product, as he produced it by his own labour, with materials and tools that belonged to himself. Such was the normal method of production in those days.

It is very different in the existing system. The most conspicuous result of the capitalistic system is, that production is a social operation carried on by men organised and associated in factories; but the product is appropriated by individual capitalists: it is social production and capitalistic appropriation. Whereas the property of the preceding era rested on the indi-

¹ See Fr. Engels' *Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* p. 253, and *passim*.

vidual's own labour, property under the capitalistic system is the product of other men's labour. This is the contradiction which runs through the entire history of capitalism. Here we have in germ all the antagonism and confusion of the present time. The incompatibility of social production and capitalistic appropriation must more and more declare itself as the supremacy of the system extends over the world.

The contradiction between social production and capitalistic appropriation naturally appears in the contrast between the human beings concerned in it. For the appropriators form the *bourgeoisie*, and the social workers constitute the proletariat, the two historic classes of the new era. Another conspicuous and important result is that, while we have this organisation in the factory, we have outside of it all the anarchy of competition. We have the capitalistic appropriators of the product of labour contending for the possession of the market, without systematic regard to the supply required by that market—each one filling the market only as dictated by his own interest, and trying to outdo his rivals by all the methods of adulteration, bribery, and intrigue; an economic war hurtful to the best interests of society. With the development of the capitalistic system machinery is more and more perfected, for to neglect improvement is to succumb in the struggle; the improved machinery renders labour superfluous, which is accordingly thrown idle and exposed to starvation; and this is entirely satisfactory to the capitalist class, whose interest it is to have a reserve

army of labourers disposable for the times when industry is specially active, but cast out on the streets through the crash that must necessarily follow.

But as the technique improves the productive power of industry increases, and continually tends more and more to surpass the available needs of the market, wide as it is. This is all the more inevitable, because the consumption of the masses of the population is reduced to the minimum requisite merely to maintain them in life. It is another contradiction of the capitalistic system that on the one hand its inherent laws tend to restrict the market which on the other hand it is ready by all means fair and foul to extend. The consequence is, that the market tends to be overstocked even to absolute repletion; goods will not sell, and a commercial crisis is established, in which we have the remarkable phenomenon of widespread panic, misery, and starvation resulting from a superabundance of wealth—a “*crise pléthorique*,” as Fourier called it, a crisis due to a plethora of wealth.

These crises occur at periodic intervals, each one severer and more widespread than the preceding, until they now tend to become chronic and permanent, and the whole capitalistic world staggers under an atlantean weight of ill-distributed wealth. Thus the process goes on in obedience to its own inherent laws. Production is more and more concentrated in the hands of mammoth capitalists and colossal joint-stock companies, under which the proletariat are organised and drilled into vast industrial armies. But ~~the~~ crisis succeeds crisis,

until panic, stagnation, and disorder are universal, it becomes clear that the *bourgeoisie* are no longer capable of controlling the industrial world. In fact, the productive forces rise in chronic rebellion against the forms imposed on them by capitalism.

The incompatibility between social production and anarchic distribution decidedly declares itself. A long course of hard experience has trained the modern democracy in the insight necessary for the appreciation of the conditions of its own existence. The social character of production is explicitly recognised. The proletariat seizes the political power, and through it at last takes complete control over the economic functions of society. It expropriates the private capitalist, and, appropriating the means of production, manages them in its own interest, which is the interest of society as a whole; society passes into the socialistic stage through a revolution determined by the natural laws of social evolution, and not by a merely arbitrary exercise of power. It is a result determined by the inherent laws of social evolution, independent of the will and purpose of individual men. All that the most powerful and clear-sighted intellect can do is to learn to divine the laws of the great movement of society, and to shorten and alleviate the birth-pangs of the new era. The efforts of reactionaries of every class to turn the wheel of history backwards are in vain. But an intelligent appreciation of its tendencies, and a willing co-operation with them, will make progress easier, smoother, and more rapid.

We need hardly return to the *rôle* which is played by surplus value in this vast historical process. The capitalist appropriates the product of labour because it contains surplus value. It is the part of the product that embodies surplus value and represents a clear gain which attracts him. Surplus value is the beginning, middle, and end of capitalism. It moves it alike in its origin and progress, decline and fall. It is the keynote of a great process of historic evolution continued for centuries; the secret of a vast development, which becomes more and more open as time goes on. And capitalism grows sick of the sustenance which formerly nourished it. It dies of over-repletion, of habitual excess in surplus value.

Let us now inquire how far the Marx school have thrown any light on the forms likely to be assumed by the new society after the downfall of capitalism. In his mature works as far as published Marx himself has said little to guide us. The clearest indication of his views is contained in the following passage:—‘Let us assume an association of free men, who work with common means of production and consciously put forth their many individual labour powers as a social labour power. The total product of the association is a social product. A part of this product serves again as means of production. It remains social property. But another part is as means of living consumed by the members of the association. It must therefore be distributed among them. The nature of this distribution will change according to the special nature of the organisation of

production and the corresponding grade of historical development of the producers.' And then he goes on to assume that the share of each producer in the means of living may be determined by his labour time. Labour time will at once serve as measure of the share of each producer in the common labour, and therefore also of his share in the portion of the common product which is devoted to consumption.¹

Another important indication by one who has full right to speak for Marx is contained in Fr. Engels' views regarding the State. After the proletariat have seized political power and transformed the means of production into State property, the State will cease to exist. In the old societies the State was an organisation of the exploiting class for the maintenance of the conditions of exploitation that suited it. Officially the representatives of the whole society, the exploiting class only represented itself. But when the State at last becomes the real representative of the whole society it renders itself superfluous. In a society which contains no subject class, from which class rule and the anarchy of production and the collisions and excesses of the struggle for individual existence have been removed, there is nothing to repress, and no need for a repressing force like the State. The first act wherein the State really appears as representative of the entire society—the appropriation of the means of production in the name of society—is also its last independent act as State. In place of the government over persons, there

¹ *Das Kapital*, i. 48.

will be an administration of things and the control of productive processes. The State is not abolished; it dies away.¹

In effect, these two indications of opinion point to a condition of society which is not fundamentally different from that contemplated by the anarchist school. Both look forward to a period when men will live in free associations, and when the administration of social affairs will be conducted without the exercise of compulsion.

It will have been seen that what Marx and his school contemplate is an economic revolution brought about in accordance with the natural laws of historic evolution. But in order to understand the full import of this revolution in the mind of Marx, we must remember that he regards the economic order of society as the groundwork of the same, determining all the other forms of social order. The entire legal and political structure, as well as philosophy and religion, are constituted and controlled in accordance with the economic basis. This is in harmony with his method and his conception of the world, which is the Hegelian reversed: 'For Hegel the thought process, which he transforms into an independent subject under the name idea, is the creator of the real, which forms only its external manifestation. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material transformed and translated in the human brain.' His conception of the world is a frank and avowed materialism.

¹ *Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, pp. 267, 268.

And to a world thus understood he applies the dialectic method of investigation. Dialectic is a word current in the Hegelian and other philosophies. It sounds rather out of place in a materialistic view of the world. In the system of Marx it means that the business of inquiry is to trace the connection and concatenation in the links that make up the process of historic evolution, to investigate how one stage succeeds another in the development of society, the facts and forms of human life and history not being stable and stereotyped things, but the ever-changing manifestations of the fluent and unresting real, the course of which it is the duty of science to reveal. Both Marx and Fr. Engels, moreover, are fond of expressing the development of capitalism in the language of the well-known Hegelian threefold process — thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Private property resting on a man's own labour of the former times is the thesis. The property resting on other men's labour of the capitalistic era is the negation of this individual property. The expropriation of the capitalists by the proletariat is the negation of the negation, or synthesis. But how far this use of the Hegelian terms is merely a form of literary expression, or how far it is a survival in Marx of a real belief in Hegelianism, it is not easy to determine.¹

The whole position of the Marx school may be characterised as evolutionary and revolutionary socialism, based on a materialistic conception of the world and of human history. Socialism is a social revolution deter-

¹ See Preface to second edition of the *Kapital*, p. xix.

mined by the laws of historic evolution—a revolution which, changing the economic groundwork of society, will change the whole structure.

It may now be convenient to sum up the socialism of the Marx school under the following heads:—

(1) Materialistic conception of the world and of history.

(2) Dialectic method of investigation.

(3) The economic order is the basis of all social order; the entire legal and political structures of society, religion, and philosophy are to be explained in accordance with the economic basis.

(4) The historic evolution of capitalism; how, from the fifteenth century onwards, the capitalist class was developed, and how a corresponding proletariat was created.

(5) The capitalist class grows by the appropriation and accumulation of the surplus value contained in the product of labour, whilst the proletariat is reduced to a subsistence wage. It is social production and capitalistic appropriation.

(6) Organisation in the factory; anarchy in society as a whole.

(7) This anarchy is intensified, especially in the great commercial crises, showing that the middle class are no longer able to control the productive forces.

(8) All these contradictions can be solved only by an explicit recognition of the social character of

production. The proletariat seizes political power and transforms the means of production into social property.

(9) The State, which has hitherto been an arrangement for holding the producing class in subjection, will become superfluous, and die a natural death. Henceforward, government will consist simply in the control of industrial processes.

The work of Marx is a natural history of capital, especially in its relation to labour, and in its most essential features is a development of two of the leading principles of the classic economics—that labour is the source of value, but that of this value the labourer obtains for himself merely a subsistence wage, the surplus being appropriated by the exploiting capitalist. Marx's great work may be described as an elaborate historical development of this glaring fundamental contradiction of the Ricardian economics, the contradiction between the Iron Law of Wages and the great principle that labour is the source of wealth. Marx's conception of labour is the same as that of Ricardo, and as a logical exposition of the historic contradiction between the two principles, on the basis of Ricardo, the work of Marx is quite unanswerable. It is obvious, however, that the definition of labour assumed both in Ricardo and Marx is too narrow. The labour they broadly posit as the source of wealth is manual labour. In the early stages of industry, when the market was small and limited, and the technique was of the simplest and rudest

description, labour in that sense might correctly enough be described as the source of value. But in modern industry, when the market is world-wide, the technique most complex, and the competition most severe, when inventiveness, sagacity, courage, and decision in initiative, and skill in management, are factors so important, no such exclusive place as has been claimed can be assigned to labour. The Ricardian principle, therefore, falls to the ground.

And it is not historically true to maintain, as Marx does, that the profits of the capitalist are obtained simply by appropriating the products of unpaid labour. In initiating and managing, the capitalist is charged with the most difficult and important part of the work of production. As a natural consequence, it follows that Marx is also historically inaccurate in roundly explaining capital as the accumulation of unpaid labour appropriated by the capitalist. In past accumulation, as in the control and management of industry generally, the capitalist has had the leading part. Capital, therefore, is not necessarily robbery, and in an economic order in which the system of free exchange is the rule and the mutually beneficial interchange of utilities, no objection can be raised to the principle of lending and borrowing of money for interest. In short, in his theory of unpaid labour as supplying the key to his explanation of the genesis and development of the capitalistic system, Marx is not true to history. It is the perfectly logical outcome of certain of the leading principles of the Ricardian school, but it does not

give an adequate or accurate account of the facts of economic evolution.

In his theory of unpaid labour Marx is not consistent with the general principles of his own philosophy of social evolution. With him history is a process determined by material forces, a succession of orderly phenomena controlled by natural laws. Now we may waive the objection suggested by the principle enunciated in the Marx school itself, that it is not legitimate to apply ethical categories in judgment on economic processes that are merely natural; which, however, Marx does with revolutionary emphasis throughout some hundreds of pages of his great work. It is more important to point out, in perfect consistency with the principles of the school, that the energy and inventiveness of the early capitalists especially were the most essential factors in determining the existence and development of a great economic era, and that the assertion of freedom was an indispensable condition in breaking the bonds of the old feudal order, which the new system displaced. Instead, therefore, of living and growing rich on the produce of unpaid labour, the capitalist had a great social and industrial function to perform, and played a great part in historic evolution. The position and function of the workman was subordinate.

In short, Marx has not sufficiently recognised the fact that the development of the new social forces brought with it a new set of functions: that of initiating and directing industrial enterprise. These functions are

not comprehended in the narrow definition of labour, but they are, nevertheless, most essential to progress; and the men that performed them have a most complete historical reason for their existence and a share in the results of industry. We need not add that such an argument does not justify all they did as the heads of the new industry. There is ample evidence that they were often rough, hard, cruel, and unscrupulous in the prosecution of their industrial enterprises. Nor does it prejudice the question whether the like direction of industry must and should continue in the future.

There can be no doubt that in his theory of surplus value obtained from unpaid labour, Marx, as agitator and controversialist, has fallen into serious contradiction with himself as scientific historian and philosopher. The theory that labour is the source of value was widely accepted among economists during his early life, and by its justice and nobleness it was well adapted to the comfortable optimism prevalent among so many of the classical school. The economists, however, did not follow the principle to its obvious conclusion: that if labour is the source of wealth, the labourer should enjoy it all. It was otherwise with the socialists, who were not slow to perceive the bearing of the theory on the existing economic order. In his controversial treatise against Proudhon, Marx gives a list of writers (beginning with the political economy of Hopkins,¹ published in 1822, only five years after the appearance

¹ This, however, must be a mistake for T. Hodgskin, who in 1825 published a pamphlet, *Labour defended against the Claims of Capital*, in which such views are set forth.

of Ricardo's great work), by whom the principle was applied to revolutionary purposes. Its simplicity and seeming effectiveness must have made it most attractive. As posited by the classic economy, and applied by the socialists, Marx accepted the principle. It was an unanswerable *argumentum ad hominem* when addressed to an economist of the Ricardian school; but it should have broken down when confronted with historical fact. Nevertheless it was made, and continued to be, the foundation-stone of the system of Marx, and is really its weakest point. His doctrine of surplus value is the vitiating factor in his history of the capitalistic system. The most obvious excuse for him is that he borrowed it from the classic economists.

Fr. Engels sums up the achievement of his friend Marx in the two great discoveries—the materialistic conception of history, and the revelation of the secret of the capitalistic method of production by means of surplus value. Materialism is a very old theory of the world. It is now given up by competent thinkers, and we need not discuss it here. Nor need we say that it is a grave exaggeration to maintain that all social institutions, including philosophy and religion, are to be explained by reference to the economic factors. History is a record of the activity of the human mind in very many directions. Men have had various interests, which have had a substantive, and so far, an independent value, though they must also be regarded as an organic whole. It is absolutely impossible to account for all by reference to any one.

Nevertheless, it is a great merit of Marx that he has so powerfully called attention to the vast importance of the economic side of history. The economic factors in the life of mankind have been sadly neglected, even by philosophic historians. Such neglect has been partly due to the scarcity of material relating to this aspect of their subject, partly owing to false conceptions of the function of the historian, chiefly because their public was a high-bred class, which had no particular wish to read about such unfashionable topics as those connected with the daily toil of the lower orders. In this way the true causation of history has often been overlooked, or totally misconceived, and results have, in thousands of instances, been traced to conventional and imaginary agencies, when the real origin lay deep down in the economic life of the people. We are now beginning to see that large sections of history will need to be rewritten in this new light.

To proceed with our criticism of Marx. It is a feature of his materialistic conception of history that his language respecting the inevitable march of society would sometimes suggest a kind of fatalism. But this is more than counterbalanced by his strong assertion of the revolutionary will. On both sides we see overstatement. The most prominent feature of his teaching, however, in this reference, is the excessive stress which he lays on the virtues and possibilities of the revolutionary method of action. The evolution he contemplates is attended and disturbed by great historic breaks, by cataclysm and catastrophe. These and other

features of his teaching, to which objection must be made, were most pronounced in his early writings, especially in the Manifesto of the Communist League, but they continue to be visible throughout his life. According to his latest teaching, a great revolutionary catastrophe is to close the capitalistic era; and this must be regarded as a very bad preparation for the time of social peace which is forthwith to follow. The proletariat, the class which is to accomplish the revolution, he described as oppressed, enslaved, and degenerate. How can such a class be expected to perform so great an historic function well and successfully?

But the main defect of his teaching lies in the arbitrariness and excessive abstractness that characterise his method of investigation and presentation; and this defect particularly attaches to the second great discovery attributed to him by Fr. Engels—his theory of surplus value.

We shall better understand the position of Marx if we recall some of the important circumstances in his life and experience. As we have seen, his family passed from the profession of Judaism to Christianity when he was six years of age, and he thus lost the traditions of the faith of his ancestors without living into the traditions of the new faith. Like many Jews in a similar position the traditions of the past therefore had little influence on Karl Marx, and he was so far well fitted to take a wide and unprejudiced view of human affairs. With his great endowments and vast knowledge he should have been one of the freest heads in Europe.

His practical energy was not inferior to the range of his intelligence.

All the more regrettable, therefore, is it that Marx should have adopted such a narrowing system of philosophy as materialism. It is also remarkable that he, the severest of critics, should have adopted, at so early an age and without due scrutiny, the theory of value set forth by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and that he should have applied it without question during the remainder of his life to the building up of a vast system of thought, and to a socialistic propaganda which was meant to revolutionise the world. Another instance of the premature dogmatism which has so often exercised a great and not seldom a mischievous influence on human thought.

In this connection it may not be altogether fanciful to observe that his heredity derived from rabbinical ancestors may account for much that is peculiar in his way of thinking. The excessive acumen, the relentless minuteness with which he pursues his course through details which often seem very unreal, the elaboration which he bestows upon distinctions which are often abstract and artificial, may well be regarded as alien to Western modes of thought. Revolutionary materialism was a strange sphere in which to exercise a logic after the manner of the rabbi.

However this may be, we know that when his mind was being formed the Hegelian philosophy was supreme in Germany; and it can hardly be said that the study of Hegel is a good training for the study of history,

according to the freest and purest conception of the subject. The study of history, in the highest sense of the word, requires a modest attitude towards objective fact which is not easily attained in the philosophy of the schools.

Marx was a German, trained in the school of Hegel; and he passed most of his life in laborious seclusion, in exile and revolt against dominant ideas and institutions. Though a materialist, he does not show sufficient respect for facts, for history. In reading his great work we feel that the facts are in chronic rebellion against the formulas to which he seeks to adapt them.

Adam Smith, the founder of Political Economy, was also academic at the outset of his life; but he was a Scotsman of a period when the ablest Scotsmen were trained by French clearness and common sense. And he was not in revolt, like Marx, but in full sympathy with a cause whose time had come, whereas Marx represented a cause which had not yet attained to any considerable degree of clearness. In learning and philosophic power, Marx will compare favourably with Adam Smith; but in historic reasonableness, in respect for fact and reality, Smith is decidedly his superior. In Smith's great work we see philosophy controlled by fact, by historic knowledge and insight. The work of Marx, in many of its most important sections, is an arbitrary and artificial attempt to force his formulas on the facts of history. Whether the fault lay in the Hegelian philosophy, or in Marx's use of it, there can be no doubt that its influence has inflicted most serious

damage on what might otherwise have been a splendid historical work.

We are therefore obliged to say that the historical work of Marx does not by any means rise to the highest conception of history. It is deficient in the free outlook, in the clear perspective, in the sympathy and impartiality which should characterise the best historical achievements. The historical work of Marx is placed at the service of a powerful and passionate propaganda, and of necessity is disturbed and troubled by the function which it is made to serve.

In dealing with history we must accept facts and men as we find them. The facts are as they are; and the men of history are not ideal men. Like other men Marx had to work under human limitations. The great task of his life was to rouse the proletariat of the world to a sense of its position, its mission, and destiny, to discover the scientific conditions under which a new era in the evolution of the human race could be inaugurated and carried on by the working classes of all lands. It was a mixed task in which science and practice were combined, and in which the purely scientific study of history naturally suffered in the partnership with a very strenuous revolutionary practice.

We need not say that it was not the fault of Marx that he adopted the revolutionary career. He was born at a time and in a country where men of independence and originality of character of necessity became revolutionists. In face of the European reac-

tion Marx never made any concession or compromise. He never bowed himself in the house of Rimmon. Seldom in the history of human thought has there been a man who travelled right ahead in so straightforward a path, however formidable the opposition and however apparently hopeless surrounding circumstances might be. Public opinion had no weight with him; neither idle sentiment nor amiable weaknesses found any place in his strongly-marked individuality.

In view of such a career spent in the unflinching service of what he regarded to be truth, and in the greatest of human causes, it would be mean and disgraceful not to speak of Marx in terms of profound respect. His sincerity, his courage, his self-abnegation, his devotion to his great work through long years of privation and obloquy, were heroic. If he had followed the broad and well-beaten highway of self-interest, Marx, with his exceptional endowments both for thought and action, might easily have risen to a foremost place in the Prussian State. He disdained the flesh-pots of despotism and obscurantism so much sought after by the average sensual man, and spent forty hard and laborious years almost wholly in exile as the scientific champion of the proletariat. Many men are glad to live an hour of glorious life. Few are strong and brave enough to live the life heroic for forty years with the resolution, the courage, and consistency of Karl Marx.

In the combination of learning, philosophic acumen, and literary power, he is second to no economic thinker

of the nineteenth century. He seems to have been master of the whole range of economic literature, and wielded it with a logical skill not less masterly. But his great strength lay in his knowledge of the technical and economic development of modern industry, and in his marvellous insight into the tendencies in social evolution determined by the technical and economic factors. Whether his theories in this department are right or wrong, they have suggested questions that will demand the attention of economic thinkers for a long time to come. It is in this department, and not in his theory of surplus value, that Marx's significance as a scientific economist is to be found.

Notwithstanding all that may justly be said in criticism of Marx, it remains, then, that his main achievement consists in the work he has done as scientific inquirer into the economic movement of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era. It is now admitted by all inquirers worthy of the name that history, including economic history, is a succession of orderly phenomena, that each phase in the line of succession is marked by facts and tendencies more or less peculiar to itself, and that laws and principles which we now condemn had formerly an historical necessity, justification, and validity. In accordance with this fundamental principle of historical evolution, arrangements and institutions which were once necessary, and originally formed a stage in human progress, may gradually develop contradictions and abuses, and thus become more or less antiquated.

The economic social and political forms which were the progressive and even adequate expressions of the life of one era, become hindrances and fetters to the life of the succeeding times. This, the school of Karl Marx says, is precisely the condition of the present economic order. The existing arrangements of landlord, capitalist, and wage-labourer under free competition are burdened with contradiction and abuse. The life of society is being strangled by the forms which once promoted it. They maintain that the really vital and powerful tendencies of our time are towards a higher and wider form of social and economic organisation—towards socialism. Here, as we believe, is the central point of the whole question. The place of Marx in history will depend on how far he has made a permanent contribution towards the settlement of it.

During his lifetime the opinions of Marx were destined to find expression in two movements, which have played a considerable part in recent history—the International and the Social Democracy of Germany. Of the International, Marx was the inspiring and controlling head from the beginning; and the German Social Democracy, though originated by Lassalle, before long fell under Marx's influence. Marx wrote the famous inaugural address of the International and drew up its statutes, maintaining a moderation of tone which contrasted strongly with the outspoken vigour of the communist manifesto of 1847. But it was not long before the revolutionary socialism which underlay

the movement gained the upper hand. The International no doubt afforded a splendid opportunity for the propaganda of Marx. The fortunes of the International and of the German Social Democracy will be sketched in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTERNATIONAL

IT is an inevitable outcome of the prevalent historic forces that the labour question has become international.

From the dawn of history there has been a widening circle of communities with international relations. Civilisation had its earliest seats on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates. The Greeks and Phœnicians carried it round the shores of the Mediterranean. The Romans received it from the Greeks, and, after adding to it a valuable contribution of their own, handed it on to the nations of Western and Central Europe. The Christian Church spread over the countries in which the Roman peace prevailed, but did not confine itself to the limits of the empire.

Amidst the group of nations who thus participated in the Greco-Roman culture and in the Christian life, there has always been a special degree of international sympathy: ideas and institutions have been largely common to them all. Feudalism and the Church, chivalry and the Crusades, all these were international in their influence.

Then, as now, great ideas and great movements could not be confined within national barriers. In the expansive and progressive epochs of history, particularly, supreme interests have raised men above the prejudices of race, and have united them by wider and deeper principles than those by which they are separated into nations.

At the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century, Germans combined with the Swedes and the French against their own countrymen. The Catholic Church, as its name implies, has always been, and still continues to be, a great international institution.

The enlightenment of the eighteenth century had an international influence, and at the French Revolution high concerns of political and social freedom for a time broke through the conventional feelings of patriotism. Germans, Italians, and even Englishmen, were in many cases ready to receive the boon of a better order of things at the price of French victory over their own countrymen. Only for a time, till the enthusiasm of the Revolution was made subservient to the selfishness of the new France—an instrument for the colossal egotism of a single man.

In our time, steam and the electric telegraph have become the bearers of a widening international movement. All the great human interests are cultivated and pursued on a wider scale than ever—religion, science, literature, art.

Commerce and industry have naturally shared in the general expansion. We have only to scan the opera-

tions of the great markets and exchanges in any daily paper as a proof of this. In a small space round the Bank of England, financial transactions are carried on which powerfully affect the entire world. Even the very simple breakfast of an ordinary citizen is a great international function, in which the productions of the most diverse countries combine to appease his wants.

The methods and appliances of this modern industry have been developed in England since the middle of the eighteenth century. Not many years ago England was still the supreme, almost the exclusive, representative of the new industry; now it is becoming the common possession of all countries dominated by European culture, and is rapidly gaining ground in the long-isolated nations of the East. The competition for business among the capitalists of various countries grows more intense every year. Once carried on chiefly or entirely for local needs, production has now to work for a market of wide and often incalculable extent.

Under these circumstances, we need not be surprised that labour, the prime factor in industry, has international interests and relations of the most serious importance. Its antagonism to capitalism must declare itself on the international arena. In the competitive struggles of the last sixty years, the cheap labour of one nation has not seldom been thrown into the scale to weigh down the dear labour of another. Irishmen, Germans, Belgians, and Italians have often rendered unavailing the efforts of English and French workmen for a higher standard of living. Continuous emigration

from Europe depresses American labour. The Chinese and other Eastern races, habituated to a very low standard of subsistence, menace the workmen of America and Australia. The great industry which is now being established in the East will be a most serious danger alike to workmen and capitalists in the Western World.

The capitalists of most countries have long sought to shield themselves against the consequences of competition by protection, by combinations tacit or avowed among themselves, of wide and frequently international magnitude. In view of the facts that we have indicated, in view of the example thus set them, why should not the working men seek to regulate their international interests?

Efforts towards the international organisation of labour have proceeded chiefly from men who, banished from their own country by reactionary governments, have carried to other lands the seeds of new thought, and, meeting abroad those of like mind and like fate with themselves, have naturally planned the overthrow of their common oppressors. The origin of the famous International Association of Working Men was largely due to such a group of exiles.

In 1836, a number of German exiles at Paris formed themselves into a secret society, under the name of the *League of the Just*, the principles of which were communistic.¹ Being involved in a rising at Paris in 1839,

¹ *Enthüllungen über den Communisten-Prozess zu Köln*, von Karl Marx, Einleitung von Fr. Engels, p. 3.

they removed to London. Here they met with workmen belonging to the nations of Northern Europe, to which German is a common speech, and the League naturally began to assume an international character.

This was not the only change which the League underwent. Its members began to understand that their real duty under the present circumstances was not conspiracy or the stirring up of revolutionary outbreaks, but propaganda. The basis of the League had been a sentimental communism, based on their motto that 'all men are brothers.' From Marx they learned that the emancipation of the proletariat must be guided by scientific insight into the conditions of its own existence and its own history; that their communism must indeed be a revolutionary one, but it must be a revolution in harmony with the inevitable tendencies of social evolution. The cardinal point in the theory worked out by Marx and now impressed upon the League, was the doctrine that the economic conditions control the entire social structure, therefore the main thing in a social revolution is a change in economic conditions.

The group of exiles put themselves into communication with Marx, and a Congress was held in London in 1847, with the result that the association was reorganised under the name of the Communist League.

The aim of the League is very comprehensively stated in the first article of its constitution: 'The aim of the League is the overthrow of the *bourgeoisie*, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old society resting

on class antagonisms, and the founding of a new society without classes and without private property.'

Marx and Engels were commissioned by the League to set forth its principles in ■ manifesto, which, as the manifesto of the communistic party, was published shortly before the Revolution of February 1848. We shall best illustrate the spirit and aim of the treatise by quoting Fr. Engels' Preface to the edition of 1883:—

'The Preface to the present edition I must, alas! sign alone. Marx, the man to whom the entire working class of Europe and America owes more than any other—Marx rests in the cemetery at Highgate, and the grass already begins to grow over his grave. Since his death nothing further can be said of a revision or completion of the manifesto. It is therefore the more necessary expressly to make the following statement.

'The pervading thought of the manifesto: that the economic production with the social organisation of each historical epoch necessarily resulting therefrom forms the basis for the political and intellectual history of this epoch; that accordingly (since the dissolution of the primitive common property in land) the entire history is a history of class struggles—struggles between exploited and exploiting, ruled and ruling, classes at different stages of social development; but that this struggle has now reached a stage when the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no more free itself from the exploiting and oppressing class (the *bourgeoisie*) without at the same time delivering the

whole of society for ever from exploitation, oppression, and class struggles—this pervading thought belongs exclusively and alone to Marx.’

‘The history of all society hitherto has been the history of class struggles’; such is the keynote of the manifesto. ‘But it is a distinguishing feature of the present time that it has simplified class antagonisms; the entire human society more and more divides itself into two great hostile camps, into two great conflicting classes, *bourgeoisie* and *proletariat*.’ The manifesto is for the most part an exposition and discussion of these two classes, the historical conditions under which they have grown up, their mutual relations, past, present, and future.

It would not be easy to give a brief analysis of the manifesto, nor is it necessary, as we have, in our chapter on Marx, already given an account of the same views in their maturer and more philosophic expression. The manifesto is a treatise instinct with the fiery energy and enthusiasm of a young revolutionary party, and its doctrines are the doctrines of Marx in a crude, exaggerated, and violent form. In such a pamphlet, written for propaganda, we must not expect the self-restraining moderation of statement, the clear perspective, or the high judicial charity which should characterise a sober historical exposition.

The Iron Law of Wages is stated in its hardest and most exaggerated form. To the charge that they desire to abolish private property, its authors reply that individual property, the produce of a man’s own labour, is

already abolished. What they desire to abolish is the appropriation of other men's labour by the capitalist. To the charge that they wish to abolish the family, they reply to the *bourgeoisie* with a *tu quoque*: ye have already abolished it by the exploitation of women and children in the factories, which has broken up the family ties, through the prevalence of prostitution and the common practice of adultery. The charge of abolishing patriotism they repudiate in the same manner: the workman has no country.

We cannot understand the manifesto unless we remember that it was drawn up by young men living in exile, and that it was written in 1847, shortly after some of the earliest inquiries into the condition of labour both in England and the Continent had revealed facts which ought to fill every human heart with sorrow and indignation.

As the manifesto of the first international combination of workmen, it has a special historical importance, and claims special attention. And apart from that, it is one of the most remarkable utterances of the nineteenth century.

'The manifesto,' says Fr. Engels, 'was sent to the press at London a few weeks before the February Revolution. Since then it has made the tour of the world. It has been translated into almost every tongue, and in the most different countries still serves as the guiding-star of the proletarian movement. The old motto of the League, "All men are brethren," was replaced by the new battle-cry, "Proletarians of all lands unite,"

which openly proclaimed the international character of the struggle. Seventeen years later this battle-cry resounded through the world as the watchword of the International Working Men's Association, and the militant proletariat of all lands has to-day written it on its banner.'¹

The Revolution of 1848, as we have already seen,² was a rising of the people in France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary against antiquated political arrangements and institutions. It was partly an interruption to the operations of the League, as it was far too weak to exercise any great influence on the course of events; but it was also an opportunity, as its members found access to the land of their birth, and in many parts of Germany formed the most resolute and advanced wing of the struggling democracy during that troubled period.

After the triumph of the reaction it became clear that the hope of effective revolutionary activity had again for a time passed away. A period of unexampled industrial prosperity set in. Capitalism was about to enter a far wider phase of development than it had yet seen, a fact which abundantly showed that the time was not favourable for an active propaganda in the interests of the proletariat. When capitalism has become a hindrance to progressive social development, when it is obviously too weak and narrow a framework for further evolution, only then is there hope of successful effort against it. So reasoned Marx and his associates. He

¹ *Enthüllungen*, Introduction, p. 11.

² P. 47.

withdrew, therefore, from the scene of action to his study in London. In 1852 the first international combination of working men came to a close. Observers who could not reasonably be considered superficial, thought that the movement had died without hope of resurrection.

But the triumph of reactionary governments in 1849 was not a settlement of the great questions that had been raised during that period of revolution; it was only a postponement of them. Before many years had passed, the peoples of Europe again began to move uneasily under the yoke of antiquated political forms. The rising of Italy against Austria in 1859; the struggle of Prussian Liberals against the Ministry; the resolve of Bismarck and his Sovereign to have the Prussian army ready for action in the way of reconstituting a united Germany on the ruins of the old Federation—these were only different symptoms of a fresh advance. They were ere long to be followed by similar activity in France, Spain, and Eastern Europe, all proving that the history of European communities is an organic movement, the reach and potency of which often disturb the forecast of the politician. In the generation after 1848 the governments were everywhere constrained to carry out the political programme which the people had drawn out for them during the revolution.

The social question may seem to have only a remote connection with the political movements just mentioned, and yet the revival of the social question was but another sign of the new life in Europe, which could not be

repressed. The founding of the Social Democracy of Germany by Lassalle, and the appearance of the International on a wider and worthier scale under the auspices of Marx, were a clear proof that the working classes of the most advanced countries of Europe now meant to claim a better share in the moral and material inheritance of the human race. We have now to sketch the growth of the movement, which is properly styled the International.

Appropriately enough, the event which gave the first occasion for the founding of the International Association of Working Men was the International Exhibition of London in 1862. The workmen of France sent a deputation to visit the Exhibition. This visit had the approval and even pecuniary support of the Emperor ; and it was warmly commended by some of the leading Parisian journals as a means not only of acquainting the workmen with the industrial treasures of the Exhibition, but of removing from the relations of the two countries the old leaven of international discord and jealousy. In the course of their visit the French delegates were entertained by some of their English brethren at the Freemasons' Tavern, where views as to the identity of the interests of labour, and the necessity for common action in promoting them, were interchanged.

In the following year a second deputation of French workmen crossed the Channel. Napoleon was interested in the Polish insurrection of 1863, and it was part of his policy to encourage the expression of opinion in favour of an intervention in Poland by the Western

Powers. At this visit wishes for the restoration of Poland and for general congresses in the interest of labour against capital were expressed. Nothing decisive, however, was done till 1864, when on the 28th September a great public meeting of working men of all nations was held in St. Martin's Hall, London. Professor Beesly presided, and Karl Marx was present. The meeting resulted in the appointment of a provisional committee to draw up the constitution of the new association. This committee consisted of fifty representatives of different nations, the English forming about half of its number. At the first meeting of the committee the sum of three pounds was collected, a humble beginning of the finances of an association which was designed to shake the world.

The work of drafting the constitution was first of all undertaken by Mazzini, but the ideas and methods of the Italian patriot were not suited to the task of founding an international association of labour. The statutes he drew up were adapted to the political conspiracy, conducted by a strong central authority, in which he had spent his life; he was strongly opposed to the antagonism of classes, and his economic ideas were vague. Marx, on the other hand, was in entire sympathy with the most advanced labour movement—had indeed already done much to mould and direct it; to him, therefore, the duty of drawing up a constitution was transferred. The inaugural address and the statutes drawn up by him were unanimously adopted by the committee.

In the inaugural address¹ three points were particularly emphasised. First, Marx contended that, notwithstanding the enormous development of industry and of national wealth since 1848, the misery of the masses had not diminished. Secondly, the successful struggle for the ten-hours working-day meant the break-down of the political economy of the middle classes, the competitive operation of supply and demand requiring to be regulated by social control. Thirdly, the productive association of a few daring 'hands' had proved that industry on a great scale, and with all the appliances of modern science, could be carried on without the existence of capitalist masters; and that wage-labour, like slave-labour, was only a transitory form, destined to disappear before associated labour, which gives to the workman a diligent hand, a cheerful spirit, and a joyful heart.

The numbers of the workmen gave them the means of success, but it could be realised only through union. It was the task of the International to bring about such an effective union, and for this end the workmen must take international politics into their own hands, must watch the diplomacy of their Governments, and uphold the simple rules of morality in the relations of private persons and nations. 'The struggle for such a policy forms part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class; proletarians of all lands, unite!'

The preamble to the statutes contains implicitly the

¹ For the official documents connected with the International, see R. Meyer's *Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, vol. i. 2nd ed.

leading principles of international socialism. The economic subjection of the workmen to the appropriator of the instruments of labour—that is, of the sources of life—is the cause of servitude in all its forms, of social misery, of mental degradation and political dependence; the economic emancipation of the working class is the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated; the emancipation of the working class is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, to be solved only by the combined effort of the most advanced nations.

‘For these reasons the International Association of Working Men has been founded. It declares:

‘That all societies and individuals who adhere to it recognise truth, justice, and morality as the rule of their conduct towards one another, and to all men without distinction of colour, faith, or nationality. No duties without rights; no rights without duties.’

Such are the leading ideas of the preamble; we have only to develop them, and we have the programme of international socialism. Whatever opinion we may hold of the truth and practicability of the theories set forth in it, we must respect the lucid and masterly form in which Marx has presented them. It is seldom in the history of the world that talents and learning so remarkable have been placed at the service of an agitation that was so wide and far-reaching.

The International Association was founded for the establishment of a centre of union and of systematic co-operation between the working-men societies, which

follow the same aim—viz. the protection, the progress and the complete emancipation of the working class. It would be a mistake to regard its organisation as one of excessive centralisation and dictatorial authority. It was to be a means of union, a centre of information and initiative, in the interests of labour; but the existing societies which should join it were to retain their organisation intact.

A General Council, having its seat in London, was appointed. While the president, treasurer, and general secretary were to be Englishmen, each nation was to be represented in the Council by a corresponding secretary. The General Council was to summon annual congresses and exercise an effective control over the affairs of the Association, but local societies were to have free play in all local questions. As a further means of union, it was recommended that the workmen of the various countries should be united in national bodies, represented by national central organs, but no independent local society was to be excluded from direct correspondence with the General Council. It will be seen that the arrangements of the Association were so made as to secure the efficiency of the central directing power on the one hand, and on the other to allow local and national associations a real freedom and abundant scope for adapting themselves to the peculiar tasks imposed on them by their local and national position.

As in founding, so in conducting the International, Marx took the leading part. The proceedings of the various congresses might be described as a discussion,

elucidation, and filling up of the programme sketched by him in the inaugural address and in the statutes of the Association. Men representing the schools of Proudhon (who died in 1865), of Blanqui, and of Bakunin also exercised considerable influence; but the general tendency was in accordance with the views of Marx.

It was intended that the first congress for finally arranging the constitution of the Association should be held at Brussels in 1865, but the Belgian Government forbade the meeting, and the Council had to content itself with a conference in London. The first congress was held at Geneva in September 1866, sixty delegates being present. Here the statutes as drafted by Marx were adopted. Among other resolutions it decided on an agitation in favour of the gradual reduction of the working day to eight hours, and it recommended a most comprehensive system of education, intellectual and technical, which would raise the working people above the level of the higher and middle classes. Socialistic principles were set forth only in the most general terms. With regard to labour the International did not seek to enunciate a doctrinaire system, but only to proclaim general principles. They must aim at free co-operation, and for this end the decisive power in the State must be transferred from capitalists and landlords to the workers.

The proposal of the French delegates for the exclusion of the intellectual proletariat from the Association led to an interesting discussion. Was this proletariat to be reckoned among the workers? Ambitious talkers

and agitators belonging to this class had done much mischief. On the other hand, their exclusion from socialistic activity would have deprived the labourers of the services of most of their greatest leaders, and the intellectual proletariat suffered from the pressure of capital quite as much as any other class of workers. The proposal for their exclusion was rejected.

The second congress, held at Lausanne in 1867, made considerable progress in the formulating of the socialistic theories. It was resolved that the means of transport and communication should become the property of the State, in order to break the mighty monopoly of the great companies, under which the subjection of labour does violence to human worth and personal freedom. The congress encouraged co-operative associations and efforts for the raising of wages, but emphatically called attention to the danger lest the spread of such associations should be found compatible with the existing system, thus resulting in the formation of a fourth class, and of an entirely miserable fifth. The social transformation can be radically and definitely accomplished only by working on the whole of society in thorough accordance with reciprocity and justice.

In the third congress, held at Brussels in September 1868, the socialistic principles which had all along been implicitly contained in the aims and utterances of the International received most explicit statement. Ninety-eight delegates, representing England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland, assembled at

this congress. It resolved that mines and forests and the land, as well as all the means of transport and communication, should become the common property of society or of the democratic State, and that they should by the State be handed over to associations of workers, who should utilise them under rational and equitable conditions determined by society. It was further resolved that the producers could gain possession of the machines only through co-operative societies and the organisation of the mutual credit system, the latter clause being a concession apparently to the followers of Proudhon. After proposing a scheme for the better organising of strikes, the congress returned to the question of education, particularly emphasising the fact that an indispensable condition towards a thorough system of scientific, professional, and productive instruction was the reduction of the hours of labour.

The fundamental principle, 'to labour the full product of labour,' was recognised in the following resolution: 'Every society founded on democratic principles repudiates all appropriation by capital, whether in the form of rent, interest, profit, or in any other form or manner whatsoever. Labour must have its full right and entire reward.'

In view of the struggle imminent between France and Germany, the congress made an emphatic declaration, denouncing it as a civil war in favour of Russia, and calling upon the workers to resist all war as systematic murder. In case of war the congress recommended a universal strike. It reckoned on the

solidarity of the workers of all lands for this strike of the peoples against war.

At the Congress of Basel in September 1869, little remained for the International to accomplish in further defining the socialistic position. The resolution for transforming land from private to collective property was repeated. A proposal to abolish the right of inheritance failed to obtain a majority, for while thirty-two delegates voted for the abolition, twenty-three were against it, and seventeen declined to vote.¹

If we now turn from the congresses of the International to consider the history of its influence in Europe, we shall see that its success was very considerable. A conference of delegates of English Trade Unions which met at Sheffield in 1866 most earnestly enjoined the unions to join the International; and it repeatedly gave real help to the English trade unionists by preventing the importation of cheap labour from the Continent. It gained a substantial success in the effectual support of the bronze-workers at Paris during their lock-out in 1867. At the beginning of 1868 one hundred and twenty-two working men's societies of South Germany, assembled at Nuremberg, declared their adhesion to the International. In 1870 Cameron announced himself as the representative of 800,000 American workmen who had adopted its principles.

It soon spread as far east as Poland and Hungary; it had affiliated societies, with journals devoted to its

¹ Oscar Testu, *L'Internationale*, p. 153.

cause, in every country of Western Europe. The leading organs of the European press became more than interested in its movements; the *Times* published four leaders on the Brussels Congress. It was supposed to be concerned in all the revolutionary movements and agitations of Europe, thus gaining a world-historic notoriety as the rallying-point of social overthrow and ruin. Its prestige, however, was always based more on the vast possibilities of the cause it represented than on its actual power. Its organisation was loose, its financial resources insignificant; the Continental unionists joined it more in the hope of borrowing than of contributing support.

In 1870 the International resolved to meet at the old hearth of the revolutionary movement by holding its annual congress in Paris. This plan was rendered abortive by the Franco-German war. The war, however, helped to bring the principles of the Association more prominently before the world. During the Austro-German struggle of 1866 the International had declared its emphatic condemnation of war; and now the affiliated societies of France and Germany, as well as the General Council at London, uttered a solemn protest against a renewal of the scourge. Some of its German adherents likewise incurred the wrath of the authorities by venturing to protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.

All will agree that it is a happy omen for the future that the democracy of labour as represented by the International was so prompt and courageous in its

denunciation of the evils of war. It gives us ground to hope that as the influence of the democracy prevails in the council of nations the passion for war may decline. On this high theme no men have a better right to speak than the workers, for they have in all ages borne the heaviest of the burden of privation and suffering imposed on the world by the military spirit, and have had the least share in the miserable glories which victory may obtain.

The relation of the International to the rising of the Commune at Paris in 1871 is often misunderstood. It is clear that the International, as such, had no part either in originating or conducting the Commune; some of the French members joined it, but only on their individual responsibility. Its complicity after the event is equally clear. After the fall of the Commune, Karl Marx, in the name of the General Council, wrote a long and trenchant manifesto commending it as substantially a government of the working class, whose measures tended really to advance the interests of the working class. 'The Paris of the workers, with its Commune, will ever be celebrated as the glorious herald of a new society. Its martyrs will be enshrined in the great heart of the working class. History has already nailed its destroyers on the pillory, from which all the prayers of their priests are impotent to deliver them.'¹

The Commune was undoubtedly a rising for the autonomy of Paris, supported chiefly by the lower classes. It was a protest against excessive centralisation raised

¹ *Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich.*

by the democracy of Paris, which has always been far in advance of the provinces, and which found itself in possession of arms after the siege of the city by the Germans. But while it was prominently an assertion of local self-government, it was also a revolt against the economic oppression of the moneyed classes. Many of its measures were what we should call social-radical.

In two important points, therefore, the communal rising at Paris had a very close affinity with socialism. In the first place, it was a revolutionary assertion of the Commune or local unit of self-government as the cardinal and dominating principle of society over against the State or central government. That is to say, the Commune was a vindication of the political form which is necessary for the development of socialism, the self-governing group of workers. And in the second place, the Commune was a rising chiefly of the proletariat, the class of which socialism claims to be the special champion, which in Paris only partially saw the way of deliverance, but was weary of oppression, and full of indignation against the middle-class adventurers that had on the fall of the Empire seized the central government of France.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume for the Commune a clearness and comprehensiveness of aim which it did not really possess. We should not be justified in saying that the Commune had any definite consciousness of such an historical mission as has been claimed for it. The fearful shock caused by the overwhelming events of the Franco-German war had natu-

rally led to wide-spread confusion and uncertainty in the French mind; and those who undertook to direct it, whether in Paris or elsewhere, had painfully to grope their way towards the renovation of the country. At a time when it could hardly be said that France had a regular government, the Commune seized the opportunity to make a new political departure. The true history of its doings will, we hope, be written after passion and prejudice have sufficiently subsided to admit of it. The story of its rise and fall was only one phase of a sad series of troubles and disasters, which happily do not often overtake nations in so terrible a form.

From this point the decline and fall of the Association must be dated. The English trades unions, intent on more practical concerns at home, never took a deep interest in its proceedings; the German socialists were disunited among themselves, lacking in funds, and hampered by the police.

It found its worst enemies perhaps in its own household. In 1869, Bakunin, with a following of anarchists, had joined the International, and from the first found themselves at variance with the majority led by Marx. It can hardly be maintained that Marx favoured a very strongly centralising authority, yet, as his views and methods were naturally entirely repugnant to the anarchists, a breach was inevitable.

The breach came at the Hague Congress in September 1872. Sixty-five delegates were present, including Marx himself, who with his followers, after animated discussion, expelled the anarchist party, and

then removed the seat of the General Council to New York. The congress concluded with a meeting at Amsterdam, of which the chief feature was a remarkable speech from Marx. 'In the eighteenth century,' he said, 'kings and potentates used to assemble at the Hague to discuss the interests of their dynasties. At the same place we resolved to hold the assize of labour'—a contrast which with world-historic force did undoubtedly mark the march of time. 'He could not deny that there were countries, like America, England—and, as far as he knew its institutions, Holland also—where the workmen could attain their goal by peaceful means; but in most European countries force must be the lever of revolution, and to force they must appeal when the time came.' Thus it was a principle of Marx to prefer peaceful methods where peaceful methods are permitted, but resort to force must be made when necessary. Force also is an economic power. He concluded by expressing his resolve that in the future, as in the past, his life would be consecrated to the triumph of the social cause.

The transfer of the General Council of the Marx International from London to New York was the beginning of the end. It survived just long enough to hold another congress at Geneva in 1873, and then quietly expired. The party of destruction, styling themselves *autonomists* and led by Bakunin, had a bloodier history. The programme of this party, as we shall see in our chapter on Anarchism, was to overturn all existing institutions, with the view to reconstructing

them on a communal basis. This it endeavoured to realise by the great communal risings in Southern Spain in 1873, when its adherents set up their special form of government at Barcelona, Seville, Cadiz, and Cartagena—at the last-mentioned place also seizing on part of the iron-clad fleet of Spain. The risings were suppressed, not without difficulty, by the national troops. The autonomists had a lingering existence till 1879.

In its main practical aim, to serve as a common centre for the combined efforts of working men of all nations towards their universal emancipation, the International had only a moderate and transitory success. It was a great idea, for which the times were not ripe. How effectually organise so many millions of working men, of different countries, at different stages of social development—men ignorant of each other's language, with little leisure, without funds for travelling and purposes of propaganda? It was inevitable that some such effort should be made; for we need not repeat that labour has international interests of vital and supreme importance. And men might have expected that the attempt would be renewed. But on the vast scale contemplated by the International it was at least premature, and inasmuch as it drew the attention of the workmen from practical measures to far-distant and perhaps utopian aims, and engaged them in revolutionary schemes for which the times were not ready, even if they were otherwise desirable, its influence was not salutary

In a movement so momentous, however, it is important to have taken the first step, and the International took more than the first step. It proclaimed a great cause in the face of the world—the cause of the poor man, the cause of the suffering and oppressed millions of labour. As an instrument of propaganda, as a proclamation of a great cause with possibilities of vast and continual growth, it has had a world-historic significance, and teaches lessons from which all governments and all men may learn. Its great mission was propaganda, and in that it has succeeded marvellously. Largely by means of it, the ideas of Marx and his associates are making the tour of the world. The governments most menaced by the social revolution, and most antagonistic to its principles, must perforce have regard to the questions raised by the International. It is a movement that will not rest, but will in many ways, and for many a year, claim the attention of the world.

Though the International was dead, the forces which gave it birth were still alive. The principles it proclaimed continued to exercise the thoughts of men. It had placed before the world a whole group of problems for study, for experiment, to be pursued through doubt, struggle, and agony, to some kind of wise and beneficial solution, we fervently hope.

We should not be discouraged by the fact that the efforts made for the solution of the questions of the world have so often been so hopelessly incommensurate with the greatness of the task which they attempted.

In beginning these high endeavours, men have always been like children groping in the dark. Yet the failures of one generation have frequently shown the way to success in the next. The International attempted the great task of the present epoch of the world in its most difficult form. We need not be surprised that its success was partial; and we may with confidence expect that the lessons taught by it will prove most helpful for the future.

In truth the International had only suffered a brief eclipse. The various socialistic societies all over the world continued to be fully conscious of the international character of the movement in which they were engaged. Without a formal organisation they represented the claims and aspirations of the same class, had common sympathies, and pursued like aims. While differing greatly in methods of action, and even in principle, they felt that they belonged to the same stream of historic effort and tendency.

The international movement soon began again to find expression in congresses representing the different countries. Such was the congress at Ghent in 1877, which was not marked by any noteworthy feature. Greater than any socialist congress previously held were those which assembled at Paris in 1889, the centenary of the Revolution, on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. There were two congresses, one representing, as far as any difference of principle was concerned, the more uncompromising Marx school, the other consisting of delegates who are not indisposed

to co-operate with other democratic parties. But the cleavage of principle was by no means definite; the difference between the two meetings originated largely in personal matters, especially as regards the French socialist parties, which issued the invitations. The immediate occasion of disagreement related to the manner of proving the mandates of the members. Both congresses advocated an energetic collectivism, while both also urged more practical measures for the protection of labour, such as Sunday rest, an eight-hours working-day, etc. The Marx congress consisted of 395 delegates, and the other congress of about six hundred delegates from the various countries of the civilised world.

International Congresses followed at Brussels in 1891, at Zürich in 1893, and in London in 1896. Both at Brussels and London there was much disorder, caused chiefly by the presence of a considerable number of delegates with anarchist sympathies, and proving too clearly that the International of Workers was like the Concert of Europe, not yet ready to march.

After being alarmed by an International of Workers, the world was agreeably startled by the project for an International of Governments. In 1889 the Swiss Government brought forward a proposal for an International Conference on Labour of the countries most interested in industrial competition. The question assumed a new aspect when, early in 1890, the young German Emperor issued rescripts, one of which contained the same proposal. Naturally, the matters

presented for discussion by the Emperor covered only a small part of the ground occupied by the International of Workers. The protection of adult labour, except in mines, was excluded from the business of the conference. Sunday labour, the protection of women, children, and young persons, were the chief questions laid before the meeting. There can be no doubt that the conference gave a much-needed and a beneficial stimulus to legislation for the protection of labour in civilised countries, though it by no means realised the sanguine expectations that many formed regarding it.

The main result of the conference has been the recognition by the Governments of the fact that there are labour questions of vast importance, and that these questions have international aspects which can no longer be ignored. Let us hope that it may be the beginning of better things. In the course of human improvement we may hope that the question of the needs and rights of labour will ever take a large place beside the concerns of war and diplomacy, and that it will eventually supersede them. The workers have a growing influence at the elections in civilised countries. It is their duty to press their just claims on the Governments, and so to bring about that desirable consummation.

CHAPTER IX

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

To understand the modern development of Germany, we must recall a few of the leading facts of its history. German history is largely a record of disunion, and this became chronic at the Reformation, which divided the country between two conflicting forms of religion. The religious struggle had its culmination and its catastrophe in the Thirty Years' War.

Seldom, if ever, in the history of the world, has a calamity so awful befallen a people so highly endowed and so well fitted to excel in all the paths of progress. In every respect—economical, political, and moral—Germany in the Thirty Years' War received wounds from which she has hardly recovered even to-day. Division and weakness at home invited interference and aggression from abroad. For generations it was the corner-stone of French policy to foster the divisions of Germany, and so to maintain her supremacy in Western Europe.

The victories of the Great Frederick, the works of her great writers—Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, and of her great philosophers—Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and

Hegel, and the mighty struggles of the War of Liberation in 1813, did much to restore the national consciousness of Germany. But the disunion continued, and in her industrial organisation she was far behind England and France. Feudalism survived, especially in the regions east of the Elbe, far into the nineteenth century. The power-loom was not introduced, even into the more progressive Rhine country, till the middle of the nineteenth century.

The results of the War of Liberation were, for the German people, most disappointing. After throwing off the French yoke, citizen and peasant alike found that the enthusiasm and devotion with which they had spent blood and treasure had been in vain. The German princes took to themselves all the fruits of victory, and the old abuses continued to flourish under the old *régime*. The only considerable reforms were those which had been established in the Rhine country by the hereditary enemy, the French, and which the German reaction did not venture to abolish.

In these circumstances we need not wonder that a profound and brooding discontent began to occupy the best German minds. A Fatherland which was disunited at home and weak abroad, princely despotisms which fostered servility and raised a barrier to progress, backward methods and institutions which were all the more galling when contrasted with the pre-eminence which Germany had attained in literature and philosophy—how could any patriot be satisfied with such a wretched condition of affairs? Thus it happened that

Germany took a leading part in the revolutionary troubles of 1848. Both at Vienna and Berlin the old *régime* was for a time overturned; and a national Parliament met at Frankfort. But the German reformers were not united; they had no clear aims; and there was little or no material strength behind them. The reaction had been taken by surprise. But it wielded the organised military power, and so was able to act whilst the Liberals talked and proposed. Before the troubled year had come to a close the reaction was triumphant both in Vienna and Berlin.

Then a time of darkness which could be felt, and which apparently was as hopeless as ever, followed in Germany. Parliaments were dispersed. Many who had shared in the struggle were put to death or imprisoned. In 1849 Switzerland counted within her borders as many as 11,000 German refugees, most of whom eventually found a home in America. It appeared as if only one failure the more had been made in the toilsome march of human progress.

But it was not an entire failure. The revolutionary disturbances had at least proved that many of the old institutions were untenable, and must in whole or in part be removed. It was found necessary to make some concessions to Liberalism. Much of the old feudalism was set aside.

Above all, both in the middle and working class there had arisen a new spirit which only awaited the opportunity that was sure to come. The opportunity arrived a few years afterwards, when the forces which

have made the Germany of to-day came into action. In the new circumstances it was an interesting question how far the *bourgeoisie* and the working class could march together. It is a standing charge brought against German Liberalism by the Social Democrats, that it has never led the progressive forces against the reaction with any degree of courage or resolution. They maintain that in the revolutionary struggles of 1848 the German Liberals never trusted the working class, that when the choice came to be made between the reaction and a strenuous democratic policy supported by the proletariat, they preferred to transact with the reaction, and so committed treason on the sacred cause of progress. On this question largely turns the history of recent German politics. It is a wide and complicated question which can be rightly answered only by due consideration of the facts of the historical situation.

The middle class had triumphed both in France and England. But the industrial revolution which naturally brings with it the rule of the middle class, was in Germany much later than in France and England. In 1848 the German middle class was still in its infancy, and had neither the insight nor the material means to lead the democracy against the reaction with any prospect of success; nor was it reasonable to expect that it should.

Further, it may be maintained that the German working class, following the example of their French brethren, has been too ready to enter on revolutionary

courses, and by thus exciting the alarm and suspicion of all sober-minded men, has done vital injury to the cause of rational and hopeful progress. There can be no doubt that for those who are bent on revolutionary courses, and those who are content with what is usually comprehended under the name of liberalism, the parting of the ways must come sooner or later. That is no reason why the parting should be premature. If they can with mutual advantage make their way along a common road against their common enemy, feudalism and the reaction, why should they not do so?

Unfortunately for German Liberals and the energetic Democratic party, there was no common way. The parting came at the very outset, and it may be regarded as inevitable. The chief aim of the Democrats was universal suffrage, and for a time at least universal suffrage in Germany, as in France, meant the strengthening of Conservatism. In Germany, as in France, universal suffrage would give the deciding power at the polls to the peasantry and the rural population generally which were under the control of the reaction, and which largely outnumbered the urban population. The German Liberals did not wish universal suffrage, as it was not in their interest. They treated the working men and their leaders with scant courtesy or consideration. They wished to utilise them as subordinates, or, at the best, as dependent allies. If the workmen were not willing to be thus treated, the Liberals were ready to show them the door.

The working men were not willing to be so treated,

and they turned to Lassalle, with the result which we have already briefly narrated. As time went on the gulf between Liberals and Democrats widened, and the democratic working men became Social Democrats. It was a breach which may fairly be regarded as extremely hurtful to the sound political development of Germany. On one hand it has led to the result that the German middle class has never with resolution and comprehensiveness of purpose led the democracy along the path on which a really free German State might have been established. Partly from choice, partly from the necessities of its position, the German middle class has followed the policy of making for itself the best terms it could with the reaction; and the socialists say that this meant the sacrifice of democratic ideals to the material interests of the middle class. 'The treason of the *bourgeoisie*,' 'the abdication by the *bourgeoisie*' of its historic place at the head of the democratic movement: these phrases sum up the worst accusations brought by the Social Democrats against the German middle class.

On the other hand, the working men, finding themselves neglected or repudiated by those who, according to the natural laws of historical development, should for a time at least have been their leaders, gave ear, it may be prematurely, to men of revolutionary views and antecedents like Lassalle and Karl Marx; and in this manner was formed a revolutionary party which in many ways has not had a salutary organic relation to the main stream of German life. It is in fact the re-

action which has profited by the division between the *bourgeoisie* and the working class.

We shall now return to the history of the Universal Working Men's Association which, as we have seen, was founded by Lassalle in 1863.¹ At the death of the founder in 1864 the membership of the Association amounted to 4610, a small number, but we must recollect that it had existed for only about fifteen months.

Lassalle, in his will, had recommended as his successor Bernhard Becker, a man totally unqualified for such a difficult post. At the founding of the Association it had been thought good that the president should exercise a species of dictatorship. This arrangement might be suitable so long as the office was filled by a Lassalle. It was not easy to get a competent man of any kind. In such a novel organisation we need not say that there were hardly any members of ability and experience. Lassalle's choice was therefore extremely limited. The most capable of his adherents undoubtedly was Von Schweitzer, a young man who belonged to a patrician house of Frankfort on the Main, but his reputation was so far from stainless that the German workmen for some time refused to have anything to do with him. Becker was elected, and conducted the affairs of the Association with more energy than wisdom,

¹ The best authority for the facts connected with the development of the German Social Democracy is Franz Mehring's *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozial-demokratie*.

while the Countess Hatzfeldt, as the intimate friend of Lassalle, used her wealth and social position to control its fortunes in a way little calculated to satisfy the self-respecting German working men. It was a time of confusion and uncertainty in the Association; of suspicion, jealousy, and contention among its leading members. There would be no profit, however, in narrating the squabbles which disturbed the progress of the Association in its helpless infancy.

Indeed, if we consider the matter with some measure of sympathy and impartiality, it would hardly have been natural had it been otherwise. Let us try to realise from what low estate the German working men were now endeavouring to rise. We must remember that the German workman had no share or experience in government, either local or national. The right of combination, of free speech in a free meeting, and even of free movement, had been denied him for generations. He could hardly turn to the right hand or the left without coming into collision with the police and the courts of law. He had no leaders whom he could trust. The German working men, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, had in the sphere of social and political action everything to learn. Under conditions which were most trying and uncertain they had to shape out a policy which suited their interests and ideals; they had to learn to know each other and to work in union, and they had to find trustworthy and capable leaders.

Nameless misery and degradation prevailed in too

many of the industrial regions on the Rhine in Saxony and Silesia. Men, women, and children were worked for fifteen hours a day. Hand labour was disappearing with the wonted unspeakable suffering before the machinery brought in by the industrial revolution. Both the hand labour and the factory labour of Germany suffered under the pressure of the competition of the more advanced mechanical industry of England.

In the lot of the German working man there had been neither light, leading, nor hope. The men who represented State and Church, law and learning, and who should have been responsible for his guidance, were too often found among his oppressors.

In view of facts like these need we wonder that Lassalle, with all his eloquence and energy, found it difficult to rouse the German working men out of their apathy and hopelessness? Under such depressing circumstances it was no particular disgrace for an ordinary man like Bernhard Becker to fail. Becker's tenure of the presidency was of short duration. He was succeeded by Tölcke, a man of ability and energy; but at his entrance into office the prospects of the Association were not bright. The funds in its treasury amounted to only six thalers or eighteen shillings. If finance be the test of success the Association founded by Lassalle was indeed at a very low ebb.

The brightest feature in the early history of the Association was the *Sozialdemokrat*, a paper founded by Schweitzer at the end of 1864, and which had on

its list of contributors the names of Marx and Engels. But even here the evil fortune of the Association clung to it. In a series of articles on Bismarck, Schweitzer had given expression to views regarding that statesman which were highly displeasing to the two revolutionists in England, and they publicly renounced all connection with the paper. Following Lassalle, Schweitzer had shown his readiness to join hands with the Conservatives of Prussia when circumstances made it advisable in the interests of the Social Democracy. Such a policy met with no favour in the eyes of Marx and Engels. They demanded from Schweitzer the same energetic opposition to the feudal and reactionary party as he showed to the Progressists. Schweitzer claimed the right to shape his tactics in accordance with the situation of affairs in Prussia, which he knew better than men living in exile. A socialist who could take a lucid and comprehensive view of the theories which he professed, a man of the world of real insight and tact, Schweitzer, by his articles in the *Sozialdemokrat*, rendered effectual service to the Association and to the socialist cause in Germany at a most critical time in their history.

During those years the political condition of Germany was most uncertain and chaotic, and the Association had to grope its way through the darkness as best it could. It was a new party composed of members who had no experience of common action, and who had with much labour and perplexity to work out a set of common convictions. Under the circum-

stances a clear line of policy was impossible. The first mighty step out of this political chaos was made in 1866, when Bismarck, after defeating Austria, established the North German Confederation. The elections to the North German Diet, which was now established, were based on universal suffrage. The first North German Diet met in 1867, and in the same year Schweitzer was elected president of the Association founded by Lassalle. How were the Social Democrats of Germany to relate themselves to the new order of things? Before answering this question we must say something of important movements which were proceeding on the Social Democratic side.

The adherents of the Universal Working Men's Association were drawn chiefly from Prussia and North Germany. In Saxony and South Germany there had meanwhile grown up a new working men's party, from which Schweitzer encountered the most strenuous opposition. Under the influence of the new life which prevailed in Germany in the years following 1860, many workmen's unions were established. As it was dangerous to make too open a profession of a political object these unions adopted the name of workmen's educative associations (*Arbeiterbildungsvereine*). Some of these working men's associations had attached themselves to Lassalle, but from the first many had held aloof from him. Many of these associations had been founded and promoted under liberal democratic influences, and their aim may generally be described as political and educational rather than economical; but

it would be more accurate still to describe them as having no clear aims, and as on the look-out for a policy rather than possessing one. It is certain that as Saxons and South Germans they were to a large degree inspired by the hatred to the growing ascendancy of Prussia which prevailed around them.

Shortly after the founding of the Lassalle Association a Union of the working men's associations which continued loyal to the Progressist party was founded at Frankfort in 1863, and was intended to form a bulwark against the influence of Lassalle. But this Union of associations speedily began to move in the direction of democracy and through democracy to socialism. Two men were chiefly responsible for this result, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel.

Liebknecht had taken an active part in the revolutionary disturbances in Germany in 1848, had been a member of the group of exiles that gathered round Karl Marx in London, and from him had imbibed the principles of international revolutionary socialism. He had joined the Universal Association of Lassalle, but he never enjoyed the entire confidence of his chief. Liebknecht counted Luther among his ancestors, and was descended from the learned middle class of Germany. His friend, August Bebel, was a working man, who, being left an orphan at an early age, had been educated at charity schools. Brought up to the handicraft of turner, Bebel continued with the most laudable diligence and thoroughness to educate himself. By his acquirements, his natural talent and his force of

character, he soon gained considerable influence among his comrades. Bebel before long became a force in the German workmen's unions.

At first Bebel was merely a radical of strong convictions, and he had no love for a socialistic agitation like that of Lassalle which was to adapt itself so much to Prussian nationalism. It was only a question of time, however, when a nature so thorough and strenuous would make the transition from radicalism to socialism. As the representative man of the German workmen's educative associations, we see him making his way in a few short years to Social Democracy, and the associations followed him step by step. Influential members soon expressed their preference for universal suffrage. The Union of associations at its meeting in Stuttgart in 1865 declared for universal suffrage, whilst their organ in the same year repudiated the Schulze-Delitzsch schemes in the most emphatic language. In 1866 a great meeting of workmen's associations at Chemnitz in Saxony adopted a programme which on its political side was entirely democratic, and on its economic side made considerable advances towards socialism. At its congress in Nuremberg in 1868 the Union by a large majority declared its adhesion to the principles of the International. In a great congress at Eisenach in 1869 they founded the Social Democratic Working Men's Party, and in the same year sent representatives to the International Congress at Basel. The Union which had been designed by the Progressists as a bulwark against Social Democracy had proved a

roadway by which the workmen marched into the enemy's camp.

Thus two socialist parties were established in Germany, the Lassalle Association, which had its membership chiefly in Prussia, and the Eisenach Party, which found support in Saxony and South Germany. Both parties were represented in the North German Diet, in which at one time as many as six socialists sat. They now had a tribune from which to address the German people, but it cannot be said that they were particularly grateful to Bismarck for the opportunity which he had given them. To men of the revolutionary party of 1848, whose ideal had been the unification of Germany under the free initiative of the people, the work of Bismarck could not appear a very delightful consummation, even though it was accompanied with the gift of universal suffrage. Schweitzer regarded the North German Confederation as a very unpleasant and very unwelcome, but yet irrevocable fact, with which the Social Democracy would need to find a way of getting on, on whose basis they would have to establish themselves as the extreme opposition if they wished to continue a political party.

Liebkecht, on the other hand, looked upon the North German Confederation as a reactionary work of violence and injustice that must be overthrown. In order not to strengthen it he repudiated all practical participation in the legislative measures of the Diet. The parliamentary tribune was only a platform from which he could hurl his protest against the new arrange-

ment of things among the masses of the German people. In his opinion the creation of Bismarck meant the division, weakening, and servitude of Germany, and history would march over its ruins.

During the Franco-German War of 1870-71 the flood of patriotic enthusiasm for a time almost submerged the socialistic agitation. At the commencement of hostilities Liebknecht and Bebel refrained from voting on the question of a war loan; they disapproved alike of the policy of Prussia and of Napoleon. The other socialist deputies, including Schweitzer, voted for it, as the victory of Napoleon would mean the overthrow of the socialist workmen in France, the supremacy of the French soldiery in Europe, and the complete disintegration of Germany. But after the fall of the French Empire all of them voted against a further loan and recommended the speediest conclusion of peace with the Republic, without annexation of French territory. Such views did not meet with much acceptance in Germany, either from Government or people. Several of the socialist leaders were thrown into prison. At the first election to the German Reichstag in 1871 the socialists counted only 102,000 votes, and returned two members.

Soon afterwards Schweitzer announced his intention of retiring from the leadership of the Universal Working Men's Association. He had been defeated at the general election. His position at the head of the Association, which, as we have seen, was a species of dictatorship, was no longer tenable. His trials and

struggles with the Prussian police and courts of justice, the troubles he experienced in the midst of his own party, the persecution and calumny which he endured from the opposing Eisenach party, the sacrifice of time and money, of health and quiet, which were inseparable from such a post, had made it a very uneasy one. He had conducted the affairs of the Association with a tact, insight, and appreciation of the situation to which his successors in the leadership of the German socialists have apparently never been able to attain. He died in Switzerland in 1875.

About the same time, in the spring of 1871, came the tidings of the great rising of the working class in the Commune at Paris. Mass meetings of German workmen were held in Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Dresden, Leipzig, and other large towns, to express their sympathy with their French brethren in the struggle which they were waging. In the Reichstag Bebel made a speech which contained the following passage:—‘Be assured that the entire European proletariat, and all that have a feeling for freedom and independence in their heart, have their eyes fixed on Paris. And if Paris is for the present crushed, I remind you that the struggle in Paris is only a small affair of outposts, that the main conflict in Europe is still before us, and that ere many decades pass away the battle-cry of the Parisian proletariat, war to the palace, peace to the cottage, death to want and idleness, will be the battle-cry of the entire European proletariat.’¹

¹ See Mehring, *Geschichte*.

When the war fever of 1871 subsided the socialistic agitation resumed its course, and it was fostered by the wild speculations of the time, and by the industrial crisis which followed it. At the elections of 1874 the socialist party polled 340,000 votes and returned nine members.

From Lassalle's first appearance on the scene in 1862, the socialistic agitation had encountered the German police at every step of its career. Its leaders were prosecuted and thrown into prison. Meetings were broken up, newspapers and organisations were suppressed. The free expression of opinion on the platform and through the press was curtailed in every way.

Such experience taught the socialist leaders the advantage and necessity of union in face of the common enemy. The retirement of Schweitzer from the control of the Lassalle party in 1871 had removed the most serious obstacle to union. Hasenclever had been elected president in his stead, but it was felt that the party had outgrown the autocratic guidance which had been helpful and perhaps necessary to it in its early years. All the tendencies and influences of the time served to bring the Lassalle and the Eisenach parties together. They were pursuing the same aims under the same conditions, against the same opposition; and there was really nothing now to keep them apart except the recollection of old rivalries and animosities which soon faded under the pressure of their practical difficulties.

Under these circumstances the process of union was

easy, and the fusion of the Eisenach and Lassalle parties was effected in a congress at Gotha in 1875. At this congress 25,000 regular members were represented, of whom 9000 belonged to the Marx party and 15,000 to that of Lassalle. The united body assumed the name of the Socialistic Working Men's Party of Germany, and drew up a programme, which, as the most important that till that time had been published by any socialistic organisation, deserves to be given entire.¹

The union of the two parties thus accomplished was the starting-point of a new career of prosperity for the German Social Democracy. At the election of 1877 the new party polled nearly half a million votes, and returned twelve members to the Reichstag. This result was largely due to the admirable organisation to which the socialistic propaganda had now attained. A staff of skilful, intelligent, and energetic agitators advocated the new creed in every town of Germany, and they were supported by an effective machinery of newspapers, pamphlets, treatises, social gatherings, and even almanacs, in which the doctrines of socialism were suggested, inculcated, and enforced in every available way. At all the great centres of population—in Berlin, Hamburg, and in the industrial towns of Saxony and on the Rhine—the Social Democrats threatened to become the strongest party.

Such a rate of progress, and the aggressive attitude of the spokesmen of the party, naturally awakened the apprehensions of the German rulers. They resolved to

¹ See Appendix.

meet it by special legislation. The Social Democrat programme contained nothing that was absolutely inconsistent with the idea of a peaceful development out of the existing state. As we have seen, it is a principle of the Marx socialism that its realisation depends on the inherent tendencies of social evolution; but the process can be hastened by the intelligent and energetic co-operation of living men, and as this co-operation may take the shape of revolutionary force, and was actually in Germany assuming a most aggressive and menacing attitude, both on the platform and in the press, it was inevitable that the German Government should adopt measures to repress it.

The occasion of the anti-socialist legislation was found in the attempts of Hödel and Nobiling on the Emperor's life in 1878. It is needless to say that neither attempt was authorised by the Social Democratic party. The two men had no official connection with the party. Both were weak in character and intellect. Their feeble brains had been excited by the socialistic doctrines which were fermenting around them. No further responsibility for their acts attaches to the Social Democratic party, whose principles and interests were entirely opposed to such attempts at assassination.

The Bill introduced after the attempt of Hödel was rejected by the Reichstag. On the attempt of Nobiling the Government dissolved the Reichstag and appealed to the country, with the result that a large majority favourable to exceptional legislation was returned. At the general election the socialist vote declined from

493,000 to 437,000. Severe anti-socialist laws were speedily carried by the new Reichstag.

A most interesting feature of the discussions which took place in connection with the exceptional legislation was the attitude of Bismarck. Now when the great statesman is no more it is specially necessary to state that he approached the subject of socialism with an open-mindedness which does him honour. He felt it his duty to make himself acquainted with all the facts relating to his office, and took particular pains to understand the new social and economic problems which were engaging the attention of the country.

In a sitting of the Reichstag on September 17, 1878, he did not hesitate to express his sympathy and even respect for Lassalle. He explained how he had met Lassalle three or four times at the request of the latter, and had not regretted it. Referring to baseless rumours that had been circulated to the effect that he had been willing to enter into negotiation with the agitator, he stated that their relations could not have taken the form of a political transaction, for Lassalle had nothing to offer him, and there could be no bargain when one of the parties had nothing to give. 'But Lassalle had something,' Bismarck went on to say, 'that attracted me exceedingly as a private man. He was one of the cleverest and most amiable men with whom I ever met; a man who was ambitious in great style, and by no means a republican; he had a very strongly marked national and monarchical feeling, the idea which he strove to realise was the German Empire, and therein

we had common ground. Lassalle was ambitious in the grand style; it was doubtful, perhaps, whether the German Empire should close with the Hohenzollern dynasty or the dynasty Lassalle, yet his feeling was monarchical through and through. . . . Lassalle was an energetic and most intellectual man, whose conversation was very instructive; our talks lasted for hours, and I always regretted when they came to an end. . . . I should have been glad to have had a man of such endowments and genius as neighbouring landlord.'

It should be added also that Bismarck saw no objection in principle to the scheme of productive associations with State help recommended by Lassalle. Such experiments were not unreasonable in themselves, and were entirely consistent with the range of duties recognised by the State as he understood them; but the course of political events had not left him the necessary leisure. Before leaving this matter we should note that, as regards universal suffrage and the scheme of productive associations with State help, Bismarck and Lassalle had common ground, on which they could have co-operated without sacrifice of principle on either side.

In his speech in the Reichstag of September 17, 1878, the Chancellor also explained the origin of his hostility to the Social Democracy. One of its leading representatives, either Bebel or Liebknecht, had in open sitting expressed his sympathy with the Commune at Paris. That reference to the Commune had been a ray of light on the question; from that time he felt entirely convinced that the Social Democracy was an enemy

against which the State and society must arm themselves.

As we have seen, it was Bebel who had used the objectionable language in the Reichstag; but Liebknecht had never been backward in the frank and uncompromising expression of views of a similar nature. Such views were not the passing feeling of the hour; they were the statement of firm and settled conviction, and may fairly be taken as representative of the beliefs and convictions of the German Social Democracy in general. The Social Democrats were hostile to the existing order in Germany, and they did not hesitate to say so. In these circumstances it is hardly necessary to say that a collision with a Government like that directed by Bismarck was inevitable.

Bismarck himself was a Prussian Junker who had become a great European statesman, but in many ways he remained a Junker to the end of his life. With rare sagacity and strength of will he had shaped the real forces of his time towards the great end of uniting the Fatherland and restoring it to its fitting place among the nations of Europe. To use his own words, he had lifted Germany into the saddle, and his task afterwards was to keep her there. The methods, however, by which he had accomplished the first part of his task, were scarcely so suitable for the accomplishment of the second.

In the now united Germany he found two enemies which appeared to menace the new structure which he had so laboriously reared, the Black International, or

the Ultramontane party, and the Red International, or the Social Democrats. These enemies he tried to suppress by the high-handed methods which had been familiar to him from his youth. He was about fifty-six years of age when the German Empire was established. It was too much to expect of human nature that he should at so late a time of life break away from his antecedents as Prussian Junker and statesman, and adopt the methods which would make Germany a free as well as a united State.

Yet it is only right to say that he went a considerable distance on this desirable path. Both as realist statesman and as patriot he wished to have the German people on his side. When he attempted to suppress the Social Democracy by methods which are not worthy of a free and enlightened nation, he did so in all seriousness, as a German patriot. He was a man working under the human limitations of his birth, antecedents, and position. On the other hand, the Social Democrats had endured oppression for many generations from the classes which Bismarck represented. They had now risen in anger out of the lower depths of society as an organised party, demanding that the hereditary oppression should cease. Considered in this aspect the anti-socialist legislation of Bismarck was only a new phase in a secular process. Time has not yet fully revealed the means by which a process of this kind can be brought to a close.

The anti-socialist laws came into force in October 1878. Socialist newspapers and meetings were at once

suppressed, and the organisation of the party was broken up. Generally, it may be said that during the operation of the laws the only place in Germany in which the right of free speech could be exercised by the socialists was the tribune of the Reichstag, and the only organisation permitted to them was that formed by the representatives of the party in the Reichstag. As time went on the minor state of siege was established in Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, and other towns, and the police did not hesitate to exercise the power thereby put into their hands of expelling Social Democratic agitators and others who might be objectionable to them.

For some time confusion, and to some extent dismay, prevailed among the Social Democrats. But ere long they found that their union and their power did not depend on any formal organisation. As Marx had taught, the organisation of the factory necessarily brings with it the organisation of the proletariat. A well-drilled working class is a natural and inevitable result of modern industrial evolution, which no *fiat* of the law can disturb, if the workmen have the intelligence to understand their position and mission. Thus the German workman realised that the union in which he trusted was beyond the reach of repressive laws, however cunningly devised and however brutally exercised.

The want of an organ, however, was greatly felt, and accordingly, in September 1879, the *Socialdemocrat, International Organ of the Socialdemocracy of German Tongue*, was founded at Zürich. From 1880 it was edited by Eduard Bernstein with real ability

and conscientious thoroughness. Every week thousands of copies were despatched to Germany, and, in spite of all the efforts of the police, were distributed among the Social Democrats in the Fatherland. In 1888 it was removed to London, whence it was issued till the repeal of the anti-socialist laws in 1890.

The efforts of Bismarck against socialism apparently had a temporary success, for in 1881, the first election after the passing of the laws, the voting power of the party sank to about 312,000. But it was only temporary, and probably it was more apparent than real. The elections in 1884 showed a marked increase to 549,000, and in 1887 to 763,000. These symptoms of growth, however, were vastly exceeded by the results of the poll in 1890, when the number of Social Democratic votes swelled to 1,427,000. They were now the strongest single party of the Empire.

In all the large towns of the Empire, and especially in the largest of all, such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Leipzig, where the minor state of siege had been proclaimed, the socialists could show an enormous increase of votes. Till about 1885 the Social Democrats had, by their own confession, made very little progress in country districts, or among the Catholic population either of town or country. At the election of 1890 there was evidence of a very considerable advance in both quarters. The election sounded the knell of Bismarck's system of repression, and the anti-socialist laws were not renewed.

The Social Democrats thus came out of the struggle

against Bismarck with a voting power three times as great as it had been when the anti-socialist laws were passed. The struggle had proved the extraordinary vitality of the movement. The Social Democrats had shown a patience, resolution, discipline, and, in the absence of any formal organisation, a real and effective organisation of mind and purpose which are unexampled in the annals of the labour movement since the beginning of human society. They had made a steady and unflinching resistance to the most powerful statesman since the first Napoleon, who wielded all the resources of a great modern State, and who was supported by a press that used every available means to discredit the movement; and, as a party, they had never been provoked to acts of violence. In fact, they had given proof of all the high qualities which fit men and parties to play a great rôle in history. The Social Democratic movement in Germany is one of the most notable phenomena of our time.

After the anti-social legislation had ceased the Social Democratic party found that its first task was to set its house in order. At a party meeting at Halle in 1890 an organisation of the simplest kind was adopted. The annual meeting forms the highest representative body of the party. The party direction was to consist of two chairmen, two secretaries, one treasurer, and also of two assessors chosen by a Board of Control of seven members. The *Sozialdemokrat*, which, as we have seen, had for some time been published in London, was discontinued, and the

Vorwärts of Berlin was appointed the central organ of the party.

In 1891, at the party meeting at Erfurt, a new programme, superseding that of Gotha, was adopted; and as it may fairly be regarded as the most developed expression of the Social Democratic principles yet put forth by any body of working men, we give it here entire for the perusal and study of our readers.¹

‘The economic development of the *bourgeois* society leads by a necessity of nature to the downfall of the small production, the basis of which is the private property of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production, and transforms him into a proletarian without property, whilst the means of production become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners.

‘This monopolising of the means of production is accompanied by the supplanting of the scattered small production through the colossal great production, by the development of the tool into the machine, and by gigantic increase of the productivity of human labour. But all advantages of this transformation are monopolised by the capitalists and great landowners. For the proletariat and the sinking intermediate grades—small tradesmen and peasant proprietors—it means increasing insecurity of their existence, increase of

¹ Our tr. of the programme is taken from the *Protokoll* or shorthand report of the party meeting at Stuttgart, 1898, to which it is prefixed.

misery, of oppression, of servitude, degradation, and exploitation.

‘Ever greater grows the number of the proletarians, ever larger the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the chasm between exploiters and exploited, ever bitterer the class struggle between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial lands.

‘The gulf between rich and poor is further widened through the crises which naturally arise out of the capitalistic method of production, which always become more sweeping and destructive, which render the general insecurity the normal condition of society, and prove that the productive forces have outgrown the existing society, that private property in the means of production is incompatible with their rational application and full development.

‘Private property in the instruments of production, which in former times was the means of assuring to the producer the property in his own product, has now become the means of expropriating peasant proprietors, hand-workers, and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers, capitalists, and great landowners in the possession of the product of the workmen. Only the conversion of the capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of communication—into social property, and the transformation of the production of wares into socialistic production, carried on for and through

society, can bring it about that the great production and the continually increasing productivity of social labour may become for the hitherto exploited classes, instead of a source of misery and oppression, a source of the highest welfare and of all-sided harmonious development.

‘This social transformation means the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the entire human race which suffers under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the labouring class, because all other classes, in spite of their mutually conflicting interests, stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have as their common aim the maintenance of the bases of the existing society.

‘The struggle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot conduct its economic struggle, and cannot develop its economic organisation, without political rights. It cannot effect the change of the means of production into the possession of the collective society without coming into possession of political power.

‘To shape this struggle of the working class into a conscious and united one, and to point out to it its inevitable goal, this is the task of the Social Democratic party.

‘In all lands where the capitalistic method of production prevails, the interests of the working classes are alike. With the extension of the world commerce and of the production for the world market, the con-

dition of the workmen of every single land always grows more dependent on the condition of the workmen in other lands. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilised countries are equally interested. Recognising this the Social Democratic party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

‘The Social Democratic party of Germany therefore contends, not for new class privileges and exclusive rights, but for the abolition of class rule and of classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties of all without distinction of sex and descent. Proceeding from these views it struggles in the present society, not only against exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex, or race.

‘Proceeding from these principles the Social Democratic party of Germany now demands—

- ‘1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage, with vote by ballot, for all men and women of the Empire over twenty years of age. Proportional electoral system; and, till the introduction of this, legal redistribution of seats after every census. Biennial legislative periods. Elections to take place on a legal day of rest. Payment of representatives. Abolition of all limitation of political rights, except in the case of disfranchisement.
2. Direct legislation through the people, by means of

the right of initiative and referendum. Self-government of the people in Empire, State, Province, and Commune. Officials to be elected by the people; responsibility of officials. Yearly granting of taxes.

- ' 3. Training in universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies. Decision on peace and war by the representatives of the people. Settlement of all international differences by arbitration.
- ' 4. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress the free expression of opinion and the right of union and meeting.
- ' 5. Abolition of all laws which, in public or private matters, place women at a disadvantage as compared with men.
- ' 6. Religion declared to be a private matter. No public funds to be applied to ecclesiastical and religious purposes. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations which manage their own affairs in a perfectly independent manner.
- ' 7. Secularisation of the school. Obligatory attendance at the public people's schools. Education, the appliances of learning, and maintenance free in the public people's schools, as also in the higher educational institutions for those scholars, both male and female, who, by reason of their talents, are thought to be suited for further instruction.
- ' 8. Administration of justice and legal advice to be free. Justice to be administered by judges chosen by

the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation for those who are innocently accused, imprisoned, and condemned. Abolition of capital punishment.

- '9. Medical treatment, including midwifery and the means of healing, to be free. Free burial.
- '10. Progressive income and property taxes to meet all public expenditure, so far as these are to be covered by taxation. Duty of making one's own return of income and property. Succession duty to be graduated according to amount and relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other financial measures which sacrifice the collective interest to the interests of a privileged minority.

'For the protection of the working class the Social Democratic party of Germany demands—

- '1. An effective national and international protective legislation for workmen on the following bases:—
 - '(a) Fixing of a normal working day of not more than eight hours.
 - '(b) Prohibition of money-making labour of children under fourteen years.
 - '(c) Prohibition of night work, except for those branches of industry which from their nature, owing to technical reasons or reasons of public welfare, require night work.
 - '(d) An unbroken period of rest of at least thirty-six hours in every week for every worker.
 - '(e) Prohibition of the truck system.

- '2. Supervision of all industrial establishments, investigation and regulation of the conditions of labour in town and country by an imperial labour department, district labour offices, and labour chambers. A thorough system of industrial hygiene.
- '3. Agricultural labourers and servants to be placed on the same footing as industrial workers; abolition of servants' regulations.
- '4. The right of combination to be placed on a sure footing.
- '5. Undertaking of the entire working men's insurance by the Empire, with effective co-operation of the workmen in its administration.'

If we consider the above programme we shall see that collectivism is set forth as the goal of a long process of historical evolution. But this goal is to be attained by the conscious, intelligent, and organised action of the working class of Germany in co-operation with the working classes of other lands. This is the twofold theme of the first part of the programme. The second part is a detailed statement of the social-political arrangements and institutions, by which on and from the basis of the existing society the German Social Democracy may move towards the goal. The goal, collectivism, is therefore the central point of the programme.

The programme, it will be observed, is a lengthy one about which many treatises might be written, and indeed it sums up a world of thought on which the Social Democratic mind has been exercised for more

than a generation. It will be seen that the materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value of Marx are not expressed in the programme, though they *may* be taken as underlying it by those who emphasise those two leading principles of Marx. The Social Democracy of Germany, therefore, is not committed to the special theories of Marx to the extent that is commonly supposed, though the general lines on which the programme is constructed owe their elucidation greatly more to him than to any other man. The various points of the programme will, we may be assured, be subjects of discussion and of education for the industrious and intelligent working class of Germany for many a year to come. It embodies their thoughts and interests, their aspirations and ideals, in the social economic and political sphere, but it represents no fixed system of dogma. It is meant to be a living creed, mirroring a living movement.

We have thus briefly sketched the rise of the German Social Democratic party from 1863 to 1890. It is a short period, but full of change and trouble. The party has come victoriously through a very hard school. We have seen how low and feeble were the beginnings of the party. We have seen also how hard at every step of its career has been its experience of the German police. Indeed the Prussian and German executive has left no means untried to suppress and destroy the movement.

Looking back on the development of the party we cannot doubt that at certain decisive stages greater

wisdom and insight might have been shown by its leaders. The ascendancy of Prussia should have been recognised as an inevitable fact which unquestionably made for progress in the unification of Germany. In this aspect at least the work of Bismarck was profoundly progressive. We may safely assume that the unification and regeneration of Germany would never have been accomplished by a talking apparatus like the Frankfort Parliament of 1848; and we can see no other force that could have succeeded except the military power of Prussia. And we may further add that the present policy of the Social Democratic party in refusing to vote for the budgets, if it were seriously to weaken the German executive, would in the existing state of Europe be disastrous in the last degree. That men like Liebknecht should hate the Junker party as the hereditary oppressors of the poor was natural; but the Junkers have had and still have a great historic function as the heads of the forces political and military which have again made Germany a nation. Their way of making the new Germany has not been the ideal way, let us say; but it has been the way of fact, and no exercise of revolutionary impatience of Marx or Liebknecht has been able to arrest or reverse the fact.

Trained in the school of adversity, the German Social Democratic party has been obliged to learn circumspection and to acquire all the virtues of discipline, patience, sobriety, and self-control. Some of its members, among whom Most and Hasselman were promi-

ment, strongly urged a policy of anarchic resistance to authority, but this tendency was strenuously opposed by the vast majority. Most and Hasselman, on refusing to submit to the party discipline, were eventually expelled. Every attempt to encourage the theory or practice of anarchism in the German Social Democratic party has been sternly and almost unanimously suppressed by the party. It succeeded only to a slight degree in cases where it was promoted by the agents of the German police for their own evil ends.

A most wholesome effect of the adverse experience of the Social Democratic party was that it sifted from their ranks all who were not thoroughly in earnest in the cause of the working man. It is a grave misfortune of new movements like socialism that it attracts from the middle and upper classes all manner of faddists and crotchety enthusiasts and adventurers, vapid and futile talkers, acrid and morbid pessimists, who join the movement, not from real love of the cause, but because it gives them an opportunity to scheme and harangue, and to lash out at the vices of the existing society. From this dangerous class the German Social Democratic party was saved by the anti-socialist legislation at a time when socialism was becoming fashionable.

It is a most significant feature in the development of the German Social Democracy that it has attained to its present advanced position without the help of any leader of commanding talent. It has had many loyal chiefs. For over fifty years, during which exile, privation, discouragement, prosecution, and imprison-

ment were followed by a season of comparative triumph, Liebknecht was at all times the consistent and unflinching champion of the revolutionary cause. Bebel's career extended to about fifty years, and was not less consistent and courageous. Many others, such as Hasenclever, Auer, and Vollmar (the last alone still living), served with ability for many years. But none of those named can be considered men of remarkable gifts. Bernstein and Kautsky, who may be described as the leading theorists of the party in recent years, have shown wide knowledge, judgment, and clearness of vision, but they would be the last to lay claim to the endowments that give Marx and Lassalle their high place in the history of the working class. These things being so, we must regard the German Social Democracy as a movement which owes its rise no doubt to the initiative of two men of original force, but which in its development finds its basis in the minds and hearts of the proletariat of the Fatherland.

In the absence of other guidance the Social Democratic party has been a centre and a rallying-point to the German workmen. While all else was uncertain, dark, and hostile, the party could be relied upon to give friendly and disinterested counsel. The strikes which from time to time broke out among the German workmen received the most careful advice and consideration from the Social-Democratic leaders, and those leaders soon found that the strikes were the most impressive object-lessons in arousing the class-consciousness of the workmen. Whole masses of the working men went

over to the Social Democracy under the severe practical teaching of the strike.

The cause of the German Social Democracy has therefore called forth the most entire devotion among all ranks of its members. When Liebknecht and Bebel were condemned to two years' imprisonment in a fortress after the great trial at Leipzig, in 1872, they were glad, they said, to do their two years because of the splendid opportunity it had given them for socialistic propaganda in the face of Germany. During the fortnight the trial had lasted they had in the course of their defence been able to dispel prejudices and misunderstandings, and so to educate German opinion in socialism.

But the 10th of March 1878 saw a demonstration which of all the events and incidents in the history of the German Social Democracy may well be regarded as the most deeply significant. It was the funeral of August Heinsch. August Heinsch was a simple workman, a compositor; but he had deserved well of the proletariat by organising its electoral victories in Berlin. He had died of consumption, called by the socialists the proletarian malady, because it is so frequently due to the insanitary conditions under which work is carried on. In the case of August Heinsch the malady was at least aggravated by his self-sacrificing exertions in the common cause, and the workmen of Berlin resolved to honour his memory by a solemn and imposing demonstration. As the body was borne to the cemetery through the working men's districts in East Berlin,

black flags waved from the roofs and windows, and the vast crowds of people, reckoned by the hundred thousand, who filled the streets, bared their heads in respectful sympathy. Many thousands of workmen followed the bier in serried ranks to the last resting-place.

Of all the achievements of the German Social Democracy it may be reckoned the most signal that it has so organised the frugal, hard-working and law-abiding proletariat of the Fatherland, and has inspired them with the spirit of intelligent self-sacrifice in their common cause. The programme and principles of the party have received modification in the past, and will no doubt receive it in the future, for the German Social Democracy is a reality and a movement instinct with vitality. The new times will bring new needs, which will require new measures. They will bring also, we hope, a wider and clearer vision and a mellower wisdom, as without wisdom even organised power is of little avail.

In view of the loyalty and devotion of the working men, it is all the more incumbent on the leaders of the German Social Democratic party that they should now guide it along paths which will be wise, practical, and fruitful. It has too long been their evil fortune or their own deliberate choice to stand apart from the main movement of German life. They have had little part in the work of State, municipality, or country commune. The party began in opposition to the great co-operative movement of Germany.

It is most important that the theories and ideals of the German Social Democratic party should be fairly tested and corrected by their application to the practical work of society. The leaders of the party agree in their preference for legal and peaceful methods. In this point they and the representatives of the existing order might find common ground which may form a basis for better relations in the future.

CHAPTER X

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

THE Socialist movement in Russia requires special treatment because it is complicated by conditions peculiar to that country. Russia was, and indeed still is politically, a century behind other European states, and the first demand of the progressives of all sorts from the mildest Whig to the Anarchist was for constitutional liberty. But thought is largely international; and the men who were striving for constitutionalism, the equivalents of our Roundheads or the French Girondins, were readers of Marx and Proudhon, and familiar with the Social Democratic organisations in Germany and France. To us therefore the Russian political stage appears to be uncomfortably crowded with incompatible anachronisms. On the right we see a mediæval church and an autocracy, till recently, of Asiatic rather than European type. On the left we find Anarchists and Nihilists hoping to bring about to-morrow an ideal state which most people regard as the possible goal of a long process of evolution. The Socialist movement in Russia is equivalent to the struggle for freedom which in England has been

spread over the centuries that lie between Magna Charta and the Parliament Act of 1911.

The history of Russia turns on two great institutions, the Tsardom and the mir. The Tsardom is the organ of Russian political life, while the mir is the social organisation of the agricultural population, and is the economic basis of the nation generally.

No reasonable man can doubt that the Tsardom has performed a most important function in the historical development of Russia. It was the central power which united the Russian people and led them in the long, severe, and successful struggle against Tartars, Turks, Lithuanians, Poles, and Swedes. Without it Russia would in all probability have suffered the same fate as Poland, which was distracted, weakened, and finally ruined by the anarchy and incurable selfishness of its nobles.

As in other countries, so in Russia, the central power was established through the subjection of princes and lords who were crushed by the strong and merciless rule of the Tsars. Among those Tsars were men of originality and courage like Peter the Great, who forced the people out of the old-world grooves which they loved so much; and when other means failed they did not hesitate to employ the cane, the knout, and the axe of the executioner to compel them into the paths of Western progress.

While the nobles were unable to make headway against the Tsardom, the clergy were neither able nor disposed to do so. In Russia the clergy were not backed by a great international power like the Papacy.

They were nursed in the traditions of Eastern Greek despotism and had no inclination to resist their rulers. The peasants were not a political power, except at the rare intervals when desperation drove them into rebellion.

Thus the circumstances of Russia have combined to establish an autocracy which has had a power and solidity unexampled in the rest of Europe. It has maintained the national existence against fierce and powerful enemies, it has in every generation extended the borders of the Russian power, and has been a real centre of the national life, satisfying the needs and aspirations of the people, with a considerable measure of success. If we do not realise the supreme importance of the work that the Tsardom has done for Russia, we cannot understand the hold it has had on the feelings of the Russian people.

But a really effective limit to the power of the Tsars is found in the officials, who are supposed to carry it into effect. These officials act as the organs of the imperial authority from the centre to the farthest extremities of the empire. Yet they can by delay, by passive resistance, by suggestion, by falsehood, by the arts of etiquette and ceremonial, and all the other methods familiar to the practised servants of autocracy, mislead or thwart the will of their master or render it of no effect.

Such is the central power. Let us now consider the body of the people. In Russia, industry and city life have formed but a small part of the national existence. The mass of the people still live directly from the soil,

and are organised in the mir. As is now well known, the mir is the Russian form of the village community, which at one time prevailed over most countries of the world, as they attained to the agricultural stage of development.

In most European countries the village community has been reduced to a shadow of its former self, mainly through the operation of economic causes, but owing to a variety of reasons, which we cannot explain here, the Russian mir has survived. It gave to the mass of the Russian people their own form of social life and of self-government; and it was economically self-sufficing. The relations of the members of the mir to each other were conducted on terms of equality and freedom; but in law the people were serfs till their emancipation in 1861. The mir was a social-economic arrangement, convenient both for the noble proprietors and for the Tsardom. It afforded to the central Government a compact unit for the collection of taxes, for providing the necessary recruits, and for organising local government. Therefore the authorities sought to fix and solidify it, and thereby make it more efficient as the social and economic basis of the national life. Recently the Government has reversed this policy and has attempted to break up the mir in order to create a class of wealthy peasants. But the right now given by law to individual peasants to turn into freeholds their holdings of hitherto inalienable communal land has not yet been largely made use of.

It was into a nation thus constituted that the most

advanced revolutionary opinions of Western Europe at last found their way. The spirit of revolt had indeed not been unknown in Russia in former times. Among a peasantry sunk in immemorial ignorance and misery, and harassed by the incessant tribute of men and taxes which they were forced to pay, discontent had always been more or less prevalent, and it had sometimes broken out in open rebellion. During the reigns of the great Catherine and of Alexander I. a sentimental Liberalism had been fashionable in the upper classes. But it was not a very practical matter, and was not a serious danger to the autocracy. At the beginning of his reign Nicholas had to face a rising among the Guards at St. Petersburg, led by Liberal officers of high birth. He suppressed it in the speediest and most summary manner. Till his death, in 1855, Nicholas maintained a *régime* of repression at home, and was the champion of absolutism in Europe.

Many circumstances combined to render the accession of Alexander II. a new departure in Russian history. The old methods of government had been thoroughly discredited by the failures of the Crimean war. There was a general feeling that the ideas and methods of the West, which had proved their superiority during the struggle, must be tried in Russia. As the young Emperor recognised the necessity of a new policy, great changes were made, and all went well for a time. Alexander carried the emancipation of the serfs, instituted new courts of law and a new system of local government, and gave a real impetus

to education. It was not long, however, before the Emperor began to hesitate in view of the Liberal forces which he had let loose, and which threatened to overturn the whole fabric of Russian society. Like his uncle, Alexander I., the young monarch had not resolution enough to persevere in a practical and systematic course of reform.

The changes already made, and the prospect of changes still to come, roused into action all the conservative instincts and prejudices of old Russia. The insurrection of Poland in 1863, which called forth the sympathies of many Russian Liberals, provoked also a powerful reaction in old Russian circles. An attempt by Karakozoff on the Emperor's life in 1866 may be regarded as the turning-point of his reign. Ideas of steady reform and of gradual temperate change have not yet become familiar to the Russian temperament. Between those who wished to reform everything, and those who wished no change at all or to change very slowly, no compromise was possible in the circumstances and conditions of Russian society, and a revolutionary movement came into being. When we consider that the new party menaced not only the special political institutions of Russia, but the fundamental principles of the existing society generally—property, religion, and the family—we can see that the breach was inevitable.¹

¹ For the revolutionary movement in Russia under Alexander II. see Alphons Thun's *Geschichte der revolutionären Bewegungen in Russland*. See also Stepniak's *Underground Russia*, and *Russia under the Tsars*.

Three stages may be recognised in the history of the revolutionary movement. The first covered the period from the accession of Alexander II. in 1855 to about 1870. Its leading characteristic was negation, and the name of Nihilism, which is commonly applied to the whole revolutionary movement, should properly be restricted to this early stage. In the main it was simply the spirit of the Hegelian left, frankly accepting the materialism of Büchner and Moleschott as the final deliverance of philosophy. In a country where religion had little influence among the educated classes, and where philosophy was not a slow and gradual growth of the native mind, but a fashion imported from abroad, the most destructive materialism made an easy conquest. It was the newest fashion; it was the prevalent form among those who were reckoned the most advanced thinkers; it was clear, simple, and thorough. It was particularly well suited to a state of culture which was without experience or discipline.

In the words of Turgenieff, who has portrayed the movement in his novel, *Fathers and Sons*, the Nihilists were men who 'bowed before no authority of any kind, and accepted on faith no principle, whatever veneration may surround it.' They weighed political institutions and social forms, religion and the family, in the balances of that negative criticism which was their prevailing characteristic, and they found them all wanting. With revolutionary impatience they rejected everything that had come down from the past, good and bad alike. They had no respect for art or poetry, sentiment or

romance. A new fact added to our positive knowledge by the dissecting of a frog was more important than the poetry of Goethe or a painting by Raphael.

Nihilism as represented by Bazarof, in the novel of Turgenief, is not an attractive picture. We may respect his courage, honesty, thoroughness, and independence ; but his roughness, cynicism, and indifference to family feelings are very repellent. Through the early death of the hero we are prevented from observing what might have been the further development of his character. We feel sure that if the story of this typical life had been continued, we should have seen very considerable changes in a more positive direction. The mood of universal negation can only be a temporary phase in individual or national development. Negation may be the physic, it cannot be the diet, of the mind.

No movement for emancipation can be a purely negative thing ; and no movement can be adequately described by reference to a single characteristic. The Nihilists found a wider view of the world in the writings of Darwin, Herbert Spencer and J. S. Mill ; and they had also at an early period felt the influence of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, and latterly also of Lassalle and Marx. From the first the Nihilists felt a broad and real sympathy with the suffering classes. They wished to recall the attention of men from windy verbiage about art and poetry, from a sentimentalism which was often spurious, to the question of 'daily bread for all,' to the common people perishing for lack

of elementary knowledge. And they insisted strongly on the equal rights of women.

It is evident that philosophic Nihilism could only be a passing phase in the history of Russian thought, and that it had a wholesome and beneficial effect, in spite of its repellent aspect. In a country which was oppressed by an enormous burden of immemorial prejudices and abuses, a powerful dose of negation was almost a necessity. But the movement could not long live on negations merely. As time went on, the struggle for emancipation in Russia began to assume a more positive character.

In this way the revolutionary movement entered on its second stage, the stage of socialistic teaching and propaganda. Events in the West had kindled the imagination of the youthful champions of liberty in Russia, the rise and progress of the International, the terrible struggle at Paris under the Commune, the growth of the German Social Democracy. A positive and far-reaching ideal now drew the aspirations of the enthusiasts for liberty; they sought the deliverance of the proletariat, represented in Russia by an ignorant and wretched peasantry. The anarchic socialism of Bakunin was unquestionably the controlling element in the new Russian movement. Beside it we must place the influence of Lavroff, another eminent Russian exile, who represented the more temperate phase of anarchism, shading off into the recognition of a constitutional and gradual development of the theory. In its second stage also the revolutionary movement of

Russia was a mixed phenomenon. The anarchism of Bakunin continued, however, to be the characteristic feature, and thus the negative factor was still prominent enough.

From Bakunin also proceeded the practical watchword at this stage of the revolutionary movement, 'to go among the people' and spread the new doctrines. And this course was unwittingly furthered by the action of the Government. Early in the 'seventies, hundreds of young Russians of both sexes were studying in Western Europe, particularly at Zürich in Switzerland. As their stay there exposed them to constant contact with revolutionary Russian exiles, and to infection with all the unsettling ideas of the West, an Imperial ukase of 1873 recalled them home. They returned home, but they carried their new ideas with them. 'Going among the people' was adopted as a systematic principle, a passion and a fashion among the youthful adherents of anarchism. In accordance with their creed they had no appointed organisation, no very definite plan of action. They 'went among the people' as the apostles of a new theory, each one as his heart moved him.

They went to be teachers or midwives or medical helps in the villages. In order the better to identify themselves with the common folks, some learned the humblest occupations. The trades of carpenter or shoemaker were most usually chosen, as being the easiest to master. Others toiled for fifteen hours a day in the factories, that they might have an opportunity of saying a word in season to their fellow-workers. Men and

women, connected with the aristocracy and nurtured in all the refinement of civilisation, patiently endured the nameless trials of living with the Russian peasant. They endeavoured to imitate the rough hands and weather-beaten complexions as well as the dress of the peasants in order that they might not excite his distrust, for the gulf between the lower classes and the gentry in Russia is wide and fixed.

The success of the missionaries was limited. With all his strong suspicion and his narrow range of ideas, the peasant could not easily understand the meaning and purpose of those strange persons teaching strange things. He was apathetic as well as suspicious. Moreover, the teacher often delivered his message in half-digested formulas which had a meaning only as connected with the economic development of Western Europe, and which did not rightly attach themselves to anything within the experience of the Russian peasantry.

The propaganda enjoyed only a very brief period of activity. The teachers went about their work with very little circumspection, in the careless free-and-easy way which seems natural to the Russian temperament. Consequently, the Government had no difficulty in discovering and following up the traces of the propagandists. Before the year 1876 had ended, nearly all of them were in prison. More than 2000 were arrested during the period 1873-76! Many were detained in prison for years, till the investigations of the police resulted in 50 being brought to trial at Moscow and 193

at St. Petersburg at the end of 1877. Most were acquitted by the courts, yet the Government sent them into exile by administrative process.

The adverse experiences which we have recorded brought the attempts at peaceful propaganda to a close, and the revolutionary party decided on the propaganda of action. They resolved to settle among the people and prepare them for a rising against the Government. Since peaceful teaching was forbidden, they sought to force a way by violent methods. It was a desperate policy to pursue among a people who had not been able even to understand the aims of the revolutionary party.

It is very characteristic of the circumstances of Russia that the most successful attempt at thus organising a scheme for revolutionary action could gain the adhesion of the peasantry only by pretending that it had the sanction of the Tsar. Jacob Stephanovitz, one of the prominent members of the revolutionary party, gave it out in South-Western Russia that he had an order from the Tsar to form a secret society among the common people against the nobles, priests, and officials who were opposing the Imperial wishes to confer land and freedom on the peasants. Those to whom he addressed himself could hardly believe that the Emperor was so powerless, but he did eventually succeed in forming a society of about a thousand members. When the plot was discovered by the police, the peasants were naturally enraged at the deception which had been practised on them. It should be added

that such a method of action did not meet with the approval of the party as a whole.

Like the peaceful propaganda, the propaganda of action failed to gain a firm footing among the people. At every step the revolutionary party found the organs of the central power ready to suppress their efforts in the most summary way. They were now convinced that they must directly attack the autocracy and its servants, and as they had received no mercy they decided to show none; and thus began the resolute, systematic, and merciless struggle of the revolutionary party against the Tsardom. For this end they naturally made a great change in their mode of action. They adopted a strong organisation instead of the lax discipline or total want of discipline commended by Bakunin. Affairs were conducted by a secret central committee, who with unsparing energy carried out the new aims of the party. The first great act in this the third stage of the Russian revolutionary movement was the assassination of General Trepoff, Prefect of Police, by Vera Sassoulitsch, at St. Petersburg, in 1878. The occasion of the deed was the flogging, by command of Trepoff, of a political prisoner personally unknown to her. Her object was to avenge the cause of outraged humanity on the servant of the autocracy. At the trial she was acquitted by the jury, to the great surprise of the Imperial Court. An attempt by the police to apprehend her on leaving the place of trial was frustrated by the crowd, and she succeeded in making her escape to Switzerland.

The public gave the most unmistakable proofs of sympathy with Vera Sassoulitsch; and the event naturally excited great enthusiasm and emulation among the eager spirits of the revolutionary party. General Mezentseff, Chief of Police, was stabbed in the streets of the capital in broad daylight. Prince Kropotkin, Governor of Charkoff, a relative of the revolutionist, was shot. General Drenteln was also openly attacked in the streets. After thus assailing the officers of the executive, they proceeded to plan the assassination of the Tsar himself, as the head of the autocracy. Solovieff fired five shots at him without doing any harm; three attempts were made to wreck the Imperial train, one of them failing because the Tsar had made a change in his arrangements; and he escaped the terrible explosion at the Winter Palace only because he was later than usual in entering his dining-room. These failures did not prevent the executive committee from prosecuting its desperate work, and on March 13, 1881, followed the tragic death of Alexander.

We need not say that the violent death of Alexander II. sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. It was felt to be a most lamentable ending to a reign which had begun with such high and generous aspirations, and with so much promise of good to the Russian people. There was a natural difficulty in understanding how a Sovereign, benevolent in character and not unwilling to pursue a liberal policy, should be the victim of a forward movement among his people. The explanation must be found in the special circumstances

of Russia, for Alexander was merely the representative of a political system which, by its historic evolution, its nature and position, has exercised an absolute and often merciless mastery over its subjects, and had refused to them the elementary rights of liberty of thought and speech, of personal freedom in accordance with law, and of any approach towards constitutional government.

It is time now to say a word about the revolutionists who have played so remarkable a part in the recent history of Russia. The members of the Russian revolutionary party have been drawn from nearly all classes of the people. Some, as we have seen, belonged to highly placed aristocratic families; some have been sons of priests and of lower officials. More recently the rural classes supplied active adherents to the militant party. One of the most notable features of the movement is the influence exerted in it by women. It was Vera Sassoulitsch who opened the death-struggle with the autocracy in 1878. A lady of high birth, Sophia Perovskaia, by the waving of a veil guided the men who threw the fatal bombs at the assassination of Alexander II.

But whether aristocrats or peasants, men or women, the members of the Russian revolutionary party have been remarkable for their youth. The large majority of those engaged in the struggle had not attained to the age of twenty-five. In view of their extreme youth, therefore, we need not say that they had more enthusiasm than wisdom, and more of the energy that aims

at immediate success than of the considerate patience that knows how to wait for the slowly maturing fruits of the best and surest progress. Having regard to the very subversive theories which they tried to sow broadcast among the masses of the Russian people, we see clearly enough that no autocracy in the world could avoid taking up the challenge to authority which they so rudely threw down. Only the Government of an enlightened people long familiar with the free and open discussion of every variety of opinion, can afford to give unlimited opportunity of propaganda to such views as were entertained by the Russian revolutionary party.

Yet while the theories of the party were from the first of a most subversive nature, it is right to emphasise the fact that they did not proceed to violent action till they were goaded into it by the police and the other officials of the central Government. By their irritating measures of repression they provoked among the students at the universities disturbances which they quelled by most brutal methods. Young men arrested on suspicion, and kept in vile prisons for years while awaiting investigation, were naturally driven to hostile reflection on the iniquity of a Government from which they received such treatment.

In Russia all forms of propaganda were illegal. The revolutionists had no right of public meeting, no liberty of the press, no freedom of utterance anywhere. They were surrounded with spies ready to give to every word and deed the worst interpretation. The peasants

whom they desired to instruct in the new teaching might inform against them. Their comrades in propaganda might be induced or coerced to betray them. It was often fatal even to be suspected, as the police and the other organs of Government were only too disposed to take the most rigorous measures against all who were charged with revolutionary opinion. Nor could the accused appeal to the law with any confidence, for the ordinary tribunals might be set aside, and his fate be decided by administrative procedure; that is, he could be executed, or condemned to prison or exile in Siberia, without the pretence of a legal trial. In such circumstances it was natural that resolute champions of liberty should be driven to secret conspiracy in its extremest form, and to violent action of the most merciless character.

While, therefore, historical accuracy obliges us to emphasise the fact that the aims of the revolutionary party exceeded all that is included in liberalism and constitutional government, it is only just to explain that they resorted to violent methods only because the most elementary political rights were denied them. In the fiercest mood of their terrible struggle with the autocracy, they were still ready to throw aside their weapons.

In the address sent by the Executive Committee to Alexander III., after the death of his father, in March 1881, they offered to give up their violent mode of action, and submit unconditionally to a National Assembly freely elected by the people. They meant

under a constitutional government to have recourse only to constitutional methods.

With regard to the number of those concerned in the Russian revolutionary movement, it is not easy to speak with precision. The party directly engaged in the struggle with the Tsardom has always been comparatively small. On the other hand, the movement has evidently met with a very wide sympathy in Russian society. In the absence of precise information, we may quote the words of one who has a good right to speak for the revolutionary party :—

‘The Russian revolutionary movement is really a revolution *sui generis*, carried on, however, not by the mass of the people or those feeling the need of it, but by a kind of delegation, acting on behalf of the mass of the people with this purpose.

‘No one has ever undertaken, and perhaps no one could with any certainty undertake, to calculate the numerical strength of this party—that is to say, of those who share the convictions and aspirations of the revolutionists. All that can be said is, that it is a very large party, and that at the present moment it numbers hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions of men, disseminated everywhere. This mass of people, which might be called the Revolutionary Nation, does not, however, take a direct part in the struggle. It entrusts its interests and its honour, its hatred and its vengeance, to those who make the revolution their sole and exclusive occupation; for under the conditions existing in Russia, people cannot remain as ordinary

citizens and devote themselves at the same time to Socialism and the Revolution.

‘The real revolutionary party, or rather the militant organisation, is recruited from this class of revolutionary leaders.’¹

For some years the revolutionists were crushed and their organisation destroyed by the repressive activities of the Government. Meanwhile town industries were growing up and the proletariat divorced from the land began to emerge as a factor in the national life.

A gigantic strike at St. Petersburg in 1896 may be regarded as the starting-point of a new revolutionary movement arising naturally out of modern industrial conditions. A Social Democratic Party, which laid great emphasis on the doctrines of Marx, originated in this way. The Russian Socialists were for the first time represented at an International Congress in London in 1896.

Groups of Socialists, however, had been rising up and taking shape all over the country, and it was felt by many that they could not wait for the unfolding of the economic evolution, and that in the special circumstances of Russia a strenuous revolutionary action was necessary. Some surviving members of the old revolutionary party helped to supply the nucleus of a Socialist Revolutionary Party, which was accordingly formed towards the end of 1901. There were now two important Socialist parties in the empire: the Social Democrats, who emphasised the need for awaiting the

¹ Stepniak, *Underground Russia* (1882), p. 264.

economic development of Russia, including the full creation of the proletariat, and the Socialist Revolutionary Party. The first party had little hope of leading the peasantry into the movement, so long as they were not expropriated by the growth of the great estates. The second party insisted on an energetic propaganda among the peasantry as well as an active campaign against the Tsardom and its servants.

Besides these two parties we find in Lithuania, Russian Poland, and other parts of Western Russia, a Socialist organisation of Jewish workmen called the Bund. It is the peculiar fate of the Jews in Russia that their revolutionary activity renders them obnoxious to the Government, whilst the exactions of the usurers and dealers of the same race make them hateful to peasantry and workers. The Jewish question in Russia can be understood only by due recognition of both points. Among the peasantry there was an agrarian movement, which may be regarded as the most powerful of all, though vague and ill-organised.

In 1901 student disturbances broke out, and hundreds of culprits were drafted into the army at Port Arthur. The students were assisted by the workmen of St. Petersburg and Moscow: serious fighting took place, popular indignation was aroused by the harsh methods of repression, and the Committee of Ministers obtained the withdrawal of the order sending students to the army.

But the Tsar was not willing to allow progress towards constitutionalism. Count Witte, who had

taken initial steps, was dismissed and Von Plehve installed in his place. Then came the disastrous war and the discovery that the Russian autocracy did not possess the sole virtues commonly attributed to autocracies, military efficiency and ability in foreign affairs. Plehve was assassinated in July 1904. At this period and later pogroms, popular outbreaks of massacre and destruction directed against Jews, excited the indignation of Europe, especially because they were undertaken with the connivance of the authorities and, virtually, the approval of the Tsar. A congress of Zemstvos (County Councils), summoned in December, demanded a constitution by 102 votes out of 104, and in January 1905 Father Gapon, a priest who had recently come into prominence, and had been organising the workers, led an unarmed demonstration of 100,000 people to the Winter Palace to claim political rights. The demonstration was fired on by troops, and more than 1000 were killed and wounded. Father Gapon escaped, but he was subsequently assassinated by the revolutionists as a traitor in a strangely dramatic manner. It seems probable that he was one of those curiously complicated characters like Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford, who begin as leaders of democracy, and end by selling their souls to tyrants.

'Bloody Sunday' was immediately followed by revolutionary strikes in Warsaw and in Poland generally, which presently spread all over Russia. In Odessa there was a great uprising, the Black Sea fleet mutinied, and a battle-ship, the *Potemkin*, manned by mutineers,

cruised for some time without effecting anything, and was ultimately abandoned by its crew in a Romanian port.¹ Finally in August the Tsar granted a constitution with a suffrage which excluded all the working classes and most of the others. This satisfied nobody: and was followed by the famous General Strike which broke out in Moscow and spread all over Russia; all traffic on the railways was stopped, and the whole of the organisation of St. Petersburg was brought to a standstill. It was really universal: even the Judges joined it. Perfect order prevailed and no opportunity was given for military interference. The Tsar recalled Count Witte, and on October 30th issued proclamations agreeing to summon the Duma and, two days later, granting a general amnesty. But even these measures could not pacify an immense and disorganised country. Insurrections in Moscow in January 1906, and in the Baltic Provinces, and no less than 1600 peasant uprisings followed and were repressed with the brutality which generally accompanies such outbreaks.

In May 1906 the first Duma met, and lasted only for 70 days. The Socialist parties had stood aside, but a Labour Group of 107 peasants and workmen was elected. Both the Social Democrats and the Revolutionary Socialists took part in the election of the second Duma in January 1907, and out of 524 members 132 were Socialists. This is a very remarkable indication of the enormous influence exercised by Socialism, in spite

¹ *The Revolt of the Potemkin*, by Constantine Feldmann. Heinemann, 1908.

or rather in consequence of the infamous persecution which has been and still is awarded to those who profess this faith. The second Duma was dissolved in June immediately after a proposal by the premier to arrest 16 Socialist members and indict 55 others for carrying on revolutionary propaganda in the army and navy, and the decision of the Duma to refer the matter to a Committee. A new electoral law was then promulgated without the consent of the Duma (a breach of the constitution) confining the franchise to a great extent to the landowning and wealthy classes, giving officials power to manipulate the voting, and reducing the number of the Duma from 524 to 442. Only 14 Socialists and 14 members of the Labour Party were elected to the third Duma which met on November 15, 1907. A policy of repression was promptly adopted: hundreds of newspaper editors were sent to Siberia, 26 Socialist members of the second Duma were imprisoned with hard labour, 163 members of the first Duma were sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment and loss of political rights for signing in 1905 the Viborg Memorial calling on the people to passively resist the Government as a reply to the dissolution of the first Duma, and 600 Polish Schools established by voluntary funds were closed. During 1908 the *régime* of reaction prevailed: no less than 70,000 persons were banished for political offences and 782 executed (the number was 627 in 1907), while the persons in exile numbered no less than 180,000. The Duma passed a law, confirming a provisional ukase of 1906, in order to enable peasants

to become individual owners of land. The communal system, once common throughout northern Europe, has survived only in Russia. It may be doubted whether it is not incompatible in Russia, as it was elsewhere, with progressive agriculture; but whether this is so or not the substitution of individual for communal ownership is a stupendous social change in a country such as Russia still predominantly agricultural, and the effects of the change, now gradually taking place, will be watched with extreme interest.

In 1909 came the extraordinary revelations of the Azev case. He posed as a leader of the Revolutionists, but was in fact an *agent provocateur* and 'had arranged with the connivance of the Police most of the outrages and assassinations attempted or carried out in Russia during the previous eight years, in order to facilitate the arrest of the chief members of the party and afford pretexts for a reactionary policy. . . . In the plots against M. Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergius which it was alleged were prepared by Azev with the complicity of the police, the latter had failed to intervene in time to prevent the assassinations.'¹

In May Lopukhin, ex-Chief of the Police Department, was sentenced to five years' hard labour for 'belonging to a criminal association,' that is, complicity in revolutionary outrages. In December Col. Karpoff, Chief of the St. Petersburg Secret Police, was killed by a bomb, thrown by a man also alleged to be an agent of the police.

¹ *Annual Register*, 1909, p. 320.

These terrible revelations prove, if any proof were needed, the hopelessness of the attempt to govern a great country by an autocracy. The world has advanced in the last century, and Governments which persistently neglect the lessons of history are bound to fail. Hundreds of years of English history have shown that a constitutional monarchy is far stabler than any other, and that instability is a constant accompaniment of despotism. The Russian autocracy is indeed learning slowly, but so slowly that it can only be described as mentally deficient.

Early in 1910 the Duma passed a resolution demanding the abolition of administrative exile, thus showing that even a reactionary representative body in Russia has aspirations for liberty.

The event of the year was the death of Tolstoy on November 2nd. It is impossible to devote adequate space to this extraordinary man. Possessed of supreme literary ability and of a personality that compelled world-wide attention, his doctrine was a strange compound of modernism and mediævalism, and varied from decade to decade in his long career. His perpetual protest against the inhumanities of the Government was a splendid service to his country, because he alone in all Russia possessed a power, in his world-wide fame, which the ministers of the Tsar dared not encounter. He alone said what he chose and did as he liked, and no one interfered. But he was curiously limited by his environment, and for many years his writings had a discouraging effect on the Socialist movement in England, and no doubt elsewhere.

Socialists who accepted his teachings ceased to participate in political work and were content to complain of the existing state of society without doing anything to alter it.

In 1911 another constitutional crisis was caused by the rejection by the Council of the Empire of a Bill passed by the Duma regulating the franchise in Poland. The Government made the Bill law by ukase under an emergency clause of the Constitution, and the Duma carried a censure on M. Stolypin by 202 votes to 82. In September M. Stolypin was assassinated in a theatre at Kief by a man who like Azev had been in the employ of the police.

In 1912 the fourth Duma was elected, which included 14 Social Democrats, the same number as before, and 10 members of the Labour Party, a loss of 4 seats. The position of the other parties was not greatly changed, but although the 'Right' maintain their majority, they are showing that a representative body always seeks to increase its powers against an autocratic bureaucracy.

Russia is an extreme instance of what is common to the Socialist Parties of other countries. What is going on there is a struggle for elementary political rights, for personal freedom and equality before the law, for liberty of speech and freedom of the press. Socialists have been the instigators, the leaders, the martyrs in this stupendous struggle, but they have fought and suffered, not for Socialism—economic freedom—but for political freedom. This is not peculiar to Russia. Women's franchise is the problem which now attracts most

attention amongst English Socialists; Belgians are struggling for 'one man one vote'; Germans agitate against military expenditure and protection; the Danes seek franchise reform; the Americans the Referendum and the Recall. In fact, Socialists in practice all the world over are striving at present for Social Democracy rather than for Democratic Socialism. Unfortunately the Socialists in the earlier Dumas did not sufficiently recognise this fact. Had they given steadier support to the Cadets, the party of constitutional democracy, more ground might have been won. Unhappily no great popular leader has yet arisen, able to secure the support not only of the various groups of reformers but also of the diverse nationalities—Poles, Letts, Finns, Georgians, and others, who make up the Russian Empire and its representative assembly.

To the 'Students' of Russia, the young people with ideas, the true patriots and lovers of freedom, the cost of the struggle has been incalculable. It is stated that during the pogroms and the punitive expeditions which followed the peasant risings, during 5 years 21,183 persons were killed and 31,117 were wounded. In the Baltic Provinces in 14 months to 1st February 1906, 18 persons were hanged, 621 shot, and 320 killed in fighting. In the 5 years 1906-10, 5735 death sentences were passed for political offences, and 3741 persons were actually executed: and 19,145 persons were convicted in the same period for political offences.¹

¹ Figures quoted from *Atrocities in Russian Prisons*, by Francis de Pressensé. Translated from the French: Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, 40 Outer Temple, Strand, London, 1913.

This is the terrible toll of suffering, the frightful decimation of the noblest and the best, which the Russian patriots have undergone during a few years only in order to attain the limited measure of constitutionalism which they have now achieved. Compared with these modern atrocities our Simon de Montforts, and Prynnes, and Hampdens were but few and fortunate, though they won for their countrymen far more than has yet rewarded the sacrifices of the Russian Revolutionists.

CHAPTER XI

ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM

ANARCHISM originated with Proudhon; but the theory owes its fuller development chiefly to Russian thinkers. The great apostle of the system in its most characteristic stage was Michael Bakunin.

Bakunin was born at Torshok, in the government of Twer, in 1814, of a family belonging to the highest Russian nobility. In due time he entered the army as an officer of artillery, which was a select department of the service. While serving in Poland, he was so painfully impressed with the horrors which he saw under Russian despotic rule, that he resigned his commission and entered on a life of study. In 1847 he visited Paris, and met Proudhon, who had a decisive influence on his opinions.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 gave the first opportunity for the activity of Bakunin as agitator. He was particularly concerned in the rising at Dresden in 1849. But the hands of the reactionary Governments and of their police were heavy on the baffled enthusiasts of the revolution. Bakunin had a full share of their bitter experience. As he tells us himself in his work

on Mazzini, he was for nearly eight years confined in various fortresses of Saxony, Austria, and Russia, and was then exiled for life to Siberia. Fortunately, Muravieff, Governor of Siberia, who was a relative, allowed him considerable freedom and other indulgences. After four years of exile, Bakunin effected his escape, and through the greatest hardships made his way to California, and thence to London in 1860.

Bakunin thus passed in prison and in exile the dreary years of European reaction which followed the revolutionary period of 1848. When he returned to London he found that the forward movement had again begun. It was a time of promise for his own country after the accession of Alexander II. to the throne. In the *Kolokol* he assisted Herzen to rouse his countrymen and prepare them for a new era; but the impatient temperament of Bakunin could not be satisfied with the comparatively moderate counsels followed by his friend. The latter years of his life he spent, chiefly in Switzerland, as the energetic advocate of international Anarchism. In 1869 he founded the Social Democratic Alliance, which, however, dissolved in the same year, and entered the main International. He attempted a rising at Lyons in September 1870, soon after the fall of the Second Empire, but with no success whatever. At the Hague Congress of the International he was outvoted and expelled by the Marx party. His activity in later years was much impaired by ill-health. He died at Berne in 1876.

In their preface to Bakunin's work, *God and the*

State, his friends Cafiero and Elisée Reclus afford us some interesting glimpses of the personality of the agitator. 'Friends and enemies know that the man was great by his thinking power, his force of will, and his persistent energy; they know also what lofty disdain he felt for fortune, rank, glory, and all the miserable prizes which the majority of men are base enough to covet. A Russian gentleman belonging to the highest nobility of the empire, he was one of the first to enter in that proud association of the revolted, who knew to detach themselves from the traditions, the prejudices, the interests of race and class—to condemn their own happiness. With them he fought the hard battle of life, aggravated by prison, by exile, by all the dangers, and all the bitterness which devoted men have to undergo in their troubled existence.'

They then go on to say how 'in Russia among the students, in Germany among the insurgents of Dresden, in Siberia among his brethren in exile, in America, in England, in France, in Switzerland, in Italy, among men of goodwill, his direct influence has been considerable. The originality of his ideas, his picturesque and fiery eloquence, his untiring zeal in propaganda, supported by the natural majesty of his appearance, and by his strong vitality, gained an entrance for him in all the groups of revolutionary socialists, and his activity left deep traces even among those who, after having welcomed it, rejected it because of differences in aim or method.' But it was mainly by the voluminous correspondence with the revolutionary world, in which

he spent whole nights, that his activity was to be explained. His published writings were the smallest part of his work. His most important treatise, *God and the State*, was only a fragment. 'My life itself is a fragment,' he said to those who criticised his writings.

Nothing can be clearer or more frank and comprehensive in its destructiveness than the Anarchism of Bakunin. It is revolutionary 'Socialism' based on materialism, and aiming at the destruction of external authority by every available means. He rejects all the ideal systems in every name and shape, from the idea of God downwards; and he rejects every form of external authority, whether emanating from the will of a Sovereign or from universal suffrage. 'The liberty of man,' he says in his *Dieu et l'État*, 'consists solely in this, that he obey the laws of Nature, because he has himself recognised them as such, and not because they have been imposed upon him externally by any foreign will whatsoever, human or divine, collective or individual.' In this way will the whole problem of freedom be solved: that natural laws be ascertained by scientific discovery, and the knowledge of them be universally diffused among the masses. Natural laws being thus recognised by every man for himself, he cannot but obey them, for they are the laws also of his own nature; and the need for political organisation, administration, and legislation will at once disappear.

It follows that he will not admit of any privileged position or class, for 'it is the peculiarity of privilege and of every privileged position to kill the intellect

and heart of man. The privileged man, whether he be privileged politically or economically, is a man depraved in intellect and heart.' 'In a word, we object to all legislation, all authority, and all influence, privileged, patented, official and legal, even when it has proceeded from universal suffrage, convinced that it must always turn to the profit of a dominating and exploiting minority, against the interests of the immense majority enslaved.'

The following extracts taken from the programme of the International Social Democratic Alliance, which he founded, will help to complete our knowledge of the views of this extraordinary agitator. The Alliance declares itself atheistic; it seeks the abolition of all religions, the displacement of faith by science and of divine justice by human justice, the abolition of marriage as a political, religious, legal, and *bourgeois* institution. The Alliance demands above all things the definite and complete abolition of classes, and political, economic, and social equality of individuals and sexes, and abolition of inheritance, so that in the future every man may enjoy a like share in the produce of labour; that land and soil, instruments of labour, and all other capital, becoming the common property of the whole society, may be used only by the workers—that is, by associations of cultivators and industrialists. It looks forward to the final solution of the social question through the universal and international solidarity of the workers of all countries, and condemns every policy grounded on so-called patriotism and national jealousy.

It demands the universal federation of all local associations through the principle of freedom.

Bakunin's methods of realising his revolutionary programme are suited to his principles. He would make all haste to sweep away the political and social institutions that prevent the realisation of his plans for the future. The spirit of destruction reaches its climax in the Revolutionary Catechism, which has been attributed to Bakunin, but which contains extreme statements that are inconsistent with his acknowledged writings. It is at least a product of the school of Bakunin, and as such is worthy of attention. The spirit of revolution could not further go than it does in this document. The revolutionist, as the Catechism would recommend him to be, is a consecrated man, who will allow no private interests or feelings, and no scruples of religion, patriotism, or morality, to turn him aside from his mission, the aim of which is by all available means to overturn the existing society. His work is merciless and universal destruction. The future organisation will doubtless proceed out of the movement and life of the people, but it is the concern of coming generations. In the meantime all that Bakunin enables us to see as promise of future reconstruction is the free federation of free associations—associations of which we find the type in the Russian commune.

The influence of Bakunin was felt chiefly on the Socialist movement in Southern Europe. The important risings in Spain in 1873 were due to his

activity. In the later revolutionary movement of Italy his influence superseded that of Mazzini, for there, as elsewhere, the purely political interest had yielded to the social in the minds of the most advanced.

The doctrines of Bakunin have also left their mark on the recent social history of France and French Switzerland. About 1879 the Anarchist propaganda showed signs of activity in Lyons and the surrounding industrial centres. Some disturbances among the miners at Montceau-les-Mines in 1882 also provoked the attention of the police and Government, with the result that sixty-six persons were accused of belonging to an international association with Anarchist principles. Of the accused the most notable was Prince Kropotkin, who, with the eminent French geographer Elisée Reclus and the Russian Lavroff, may be regarded as the greatest recent exponents of Anarchism.

There is no more interesting figure in the recent revolutionary history of Europe than Prince Kropotkin. Like Bakunin, he belongs by birth to the highest aristocracy of Russia ; his family, it was sometimes said among his familiar friends, had a better right to the throne of that country than the present dynasty. A man of science of European fame, of kindly nature and courteous manners, it may seem strange that he should be an avowed champion of the most destructive creed now extant. A few of the leading facts of his life, as he gave them in his defence at the trial at Lyons in 1883, may throw some light on that question.¹

¹ *Le Procès des Anarchistes*, p. 27.

His father was an owner of serfs, and from his childhood he had been witness to scenes like those narrated by the American novelist in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The sight of the cruelties suffered by the oppressed class had taught him to love them. At sixteen he entered the school of pages at the Imperial Court, and if he had learned in the cabin to love the people, he learned at the Court to detest the great. In the army and the administration he saw the hopelessness of expecting reforms from the reactionary Russian Government. For some time afterwards he had devoted himself to scientific work. When the social movement began, Kropotkin joined it. The demands made by the new party for more liberty met with a simple response from the Government: they were thrown into prison, where their treatment was terrible. In the prison where the Prince was detained nine lost their reason and eleven committed suicide. He fell seriously ill, and was carried to the hospital, from which he made his escape. In Switzerland, where he found refuge, he witnessed the sufferings of the people caused by the crisis in the watch manufacture; everywhere the like miseries, due to the like social and political evils. Was it surprising that he should seek to remedy them by the transformation of society?

The record¹ of the great Anarchist trial at Lyons in 1883, to which we have already referred, is an historical document of the first importance. Every one who wishes to understand the causes, motives, and

¹ *Le Procès des Anarchistes*, Lyons, 1883.

aims of the Anarchist movement should study it carefully. At the trial a declaration of opinion was signed by the accused. The following extracts which give the purport of this declaration may be useful in elucidating the Anarchist position. What they aim at is the most absolute freedom, the most complete satisfaction of human wants, without other limit than the impossibilities of Nature and the wants of their neighbours, equally worthy of respect. They object on principle to all authority and all government, and in all human relations would, in place of legal and administrative control, substitute free contract, perpetually subject to revision and cancelment. But, as no freedom is possible in a society where capital is monopolised by a diminishing minority, they believe that capital, the common inheritance of humanity, since it is the fruit of the co-operation of past and present generations, ought to be at the disposal of all, so that no man be excluded from it, and no man seize part of it to the detriment of the rest. In a word, they wish equality, equality of fact, as corollary, or rather as primordial condition of freedom. From each one according to his faculties; to each one according to his needs. They demand bread for all, science for all, work for all; for all, too, independence and justice.

As one of the accused maintained, even a Government based on universal suffrage gives them no scope for effective action in the deliverance of the poor, as of the eight million electors of France only some half a million are in a position to give a free vote. In such

a state of affairs, and in view of the continued misery and degradation of the proletariat, they proclaim the sacred right of insurrection.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the trial was the defence of Émile Gautier before the Court of Appeal. Gautier was described by the Public Prosecutor as a serious intelligence gone astray, a licentiate in law who had passed brilliant examinations, a powerful orator who might be considered as the apostle of the Anarchist idea in France. He was only twenty-nine years of age. In his defence Gautier described with passionate eloquence how he, the son of a law court official (*huissier*), had been converted to revolution and Anarchism by the sight in court of the daily miseries of debtors and bankrupts and other victims of a capitalist society. As Voltaire was said to have had an attack of fever at every anniversary of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, so he, far away in Brittany, was seized with a fever of rage and of bitter indignation when the calendar brought round the accursed dates at which bills and rents became due.

The leading principles of Anarchism are marked by great simplicity, and may be summed up as the rejection of all external authority and of all private appropriation of land and capital. All human relations will depend on the free action and assent of the individuals concerned. Free associations will be formed for industrial and other purposes, and these associations will with a like freedom enter into federal and other relations with each other. The process of

social reconstruction is, in short, the free federation of free associations.

Anarchism is in part a matter of temperament and in part of environment: in common with Socialism it demands an economic revolution, and it shares with Socialism the spirit of revolt which was so large a factor in the movement during the nineteenth century. But it parts company with Socialism at the very outset of constructive effort, whether this takes the form of proposals for the future state or of immediate steps in legislation. In early days the line between Anarchism and Socialism was not clearly drawn in the minds of some leaders, notably William Morris, and in the opinions of many of the rank and file. So long as Socialism was mainly a protest against the political and intellectual powers of the day Anarchists and Socialists had the same battle to fight, and often acted as allies. But as soon as that phase began to pass, the antagonism became marked, and alliance was impossible.

Anarchism is a result of environment in that it is based on two assumptions: that all government is an evil, and that industry can be carried on without organisation. Therefore it flourished chiefly in the country where the Government is regarded by most thoughtful people as the enemy, and where industry is largely in the hands of small individual producers. In Russia the Government was till recently a complete autocracy, untempered by any form of democratic control. It was a force outside the people, imposed on them from

above, which attempted to coerce not only their social life, but their thoughts and their religion. Every man of independent mind was necessarily against the government, and hence many even of the greatest of Russian thinkers, notably Tolstoy and Kropotkin, have generalised from their own experience, and, because the government they were born under was bad, therefore all government appeared to them bad. In countries where the government is more or less popular, and especially where the people recognise that it is but themselves organised for special purposes, Anarchism has never taken root. Hence it is virtually unknown in Australasia, and, except amongst foreigners, it has never taken root in America and England, whilst it is a force in Eastern and Southern Europe, where popular government is a recent and feeble growth.

The second factor of environment is the prevailing form of industry. Anarchism cannot appeal to the artisan accustomed to the complex organisation of the big factory or machine shop, the mine, the railway, or ocean liner. William Morris in *News from Nowhere*, his delightful utopia of virtual Anarchism, had to turn England into a nation of haymakers, because simple small-scale agriculture is almost the only industry which is intellectually conceivable under Anarchism. Tolstoy, living in a village of small farmers, ruled by its mir, holding its land so far in common that it was redistributed every few years, was familiar with a state of things in which property was based on use, where industrial organisation was conducted by voluntary

groups of equals, all owners of small property, and where the central government played little part except as a collector of taxes, and of conscripts for its army.

To some extent the same industrial conditions prevail in Southern Europe, where Anarchism found a congenial soil. But important as is environment, or intellectual background, in the making of Anarchists, temperament is a factor of not less magnitude. The complete Anarchist is born so, and cannot be made by any circumstances. The strong individualist, eager to go his own way at whatever cost, easily moved by high ideals and abstract principles, but impatient of discipline, and disdainful of small gains, tends towards Anarchism if he becomes a social revolutionist. Amongst races which approximate to this type, such as the Latins and the Southern Slavs, Anarchism flourishes at the expense of Socialism, whilst it appeals to a very small minority in Teutonic nations, especially in Germany, notwithstanding the absence of real democracy in that country.

Anarchism is necessarily a negative creed. Its principles require the abolition of government and law, and all right to property save that of use. As in Russia the land, the chief instrument of production, is periodically redistributed amongst the families capable of using it, and no right to land is recognised by the mir apart from capability to cultivate, so the Anarchists vaguely conceive that all capital might be common property, and each person free to earn his living by using such instruments of production as he prefers.

It is not necessary to explain the impracticability of this method of industrial organisation, and indeed the Anarchists have never attempted to state how they conceive that large-scale industry could be carried on.

In the popular mind Anarchism is closely connected with assassination and violence, especially in the form of bombs. In fact, the connection, though actual, is in the main accidental. Some Anarchists, notably Tolstoy, have always advocated the opposite policy of non-resistance. Many outrages, commonly attributed to Anarchists, have been the work of criminals, of degenerates, and, especially in Russia, of political conspirators, who deliberately adopted that method for obtaining, not Anarchism, but mere political freedom. None the less, the type of mind which vehemently resents control, which idolises personal independence, and considers protest against authority a virtue, readily adopts the notion that any method of discrediting and destroying the existing Government is lawful and expedient, and the examples of outrages in countries where the Government is the enemy have been occasionally followed, chiefly by exasperated exiles, in other lands, where such actions have scarcely the shadow of excuse.

The social ideal of Anarchism is necessarily the ideal of every thinker. Law is for evil-doers, and our modern industrial code is simply a method of bringing up the less intelligent and benevolent members of the community to the level of the rest. Everybody would welcome a world in which wealth was so abundant

that each could have whatever he desired, and could select the occupation best fitted to his capacities and tastes. Towards this ideal state we are moving. But the way is through the extension of law, and not its immediate abolition, and it will be a very long time before wealth is so abundant and the character of the average man so elevated that each will do his fair share of work without compulsion, and the reward of that work will be sufficient to maintain the standard of comfort of the community.

The Communist Anarchists, as they called themselves, were a force to be reckoned with in the English Socialist movement for some years from 1882 onwards. Prince Kropotkin gave their agitation intellectual distinction, and a considerable group of Socialists who never formally adopted their creed strongly sympathised with their ideas. They published a paper called *Freedom*, and at a later stage their capture of the Socialist League led William Morris to abandon that organisation shortly before its collapse. But both in England and abroad the movement gradually declined in importance, and very little was heard of it during the first decade of the twentieth century. In fact, a new movement was growing up which appealed to the same temperament. It combined with the old ideas certain new conceptions, and under the name of Syndicalism is now attracting wide attention throughout Europe.

SYNDICALISM

We have pointed out that Anarchism never began to visualise a social reconstruction more complex than that of a Russian village community. Thirty years ago Trade Unionism had little recognition outside Great Britain, and British Trade Unionists were not a class which a continental workman would regard as promising material for social revolution. Since those days voluntary working-class associations, both Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, have made very rapid progress in Germany, in France, in Belgium, in Italy, and elsewhere. It was evident to workmen that they could organise for certain purposes, could control large funds, and even carry on large business affairs. Historians told them that in the Middle Ages the trades organised in guilds exercised complete authority over their own affairs, issuing regulations which were enforced in courts of law, and that these guilds took direct part in the government of the towns. The transition to Syndicalism is now obvious. Anarchism demanded the abolition of the State, everywhere controlled by the classes: it demanded its replacement by free groups of workpeople, owning the instruments of production, and it sought in vain for some form of free organisation which could manage large-scale industry. The Trade Union supplied the want.

The present state is managed by local units: the elector is grouped according to his place of abode. The

Syndicalist state is to be organised largely by occupation, and the contention that similarity of occupation is a more real bond than mere proximity of residence is not without weight. The old state is necessarily controlled by the classes because it is huge, centralised, and too complex for the worker to understand; but if each workman is concerned only in managing his own trade the classes will be superfluous.

Finally, it is now recognised that violent revolution of the old type is a thing of the past. Science plays so big a part in war that the amateur is hopelessly handicapped. There has been much talk of social revolutions since the Commune of Paris in 1871, and happily there has been nothing more than talk. But a new weapon has been forged for the revolutionist, the General Strike. No power on earth can compel a mass of men to work, if they refuse to do so. Science, which applied to military purposes has made revolution impossible, has also been applied to social life, and the least stoppage in the vast machinery of a modern city produces something like disaster. Trade Unions, especially in France, are organisations framed for maintaining strikes. A general, that is a universal, strike even of a week's duration will, it is alleged, destroy the existing scheme of things, and the Trade Unions which ordered the strike and alone can end it will be able to make peace on their own terms.

Whatever may be the validity of these ideas, it must be confessed that they are far more plausible than anything that Anarchism had to offer.

THE ORIGIN OF SYNDICALISM

For a long generation France has suffered from the absence of party conflict. In place of the two or three well-defined parties which in all English-speaking countries take office by turns, every French Ministry since the fall of Macmahon in 1877 has belonged to some section of the Republicans, and has been supported by a *bloc*, a loose federation of groups which has usually broken up on some minor issue, to unite again under a new leader. Politics has therefore become largely a struggle for personal advantage, and it is commonly believed that financial corruption has flourished, as indeed is usually the case where party spirit is weak. The advent of the Socialist party effected but little change in this state of affairs. The Socialist members of the Chamber rightly decided that their business was to share in the political life of the nation, and in effect they formed a group or groups which sometimes joined a *bloc* in support of the ministry of the day, and at other times sided with the opposition. Moreover several Socialist leaders, MM. Millerand, Briand, and Viviani, accepted office in Republican cabinets, with the result that they were disowned by their old associates and incurred the bitter hatred of many who regarded them as traitors.

French local government is highly centralised : taxation is heavy and the duties on food are particularly oppressive in towns. Revolution in France has always

been associated with 'communism,' which might be translated 'parochial autonomy,' or local self-government, as opposed to control by the central government.

Here then was a kindly soil for the growth of the idea that the working classes will find no salvation in politics, that parliament is an assembly of self-seeking chatterers, ready to sell their principles for office or for corrupt gains: and that the central government is the enemy.

It must be remembered that the word Syndicalism is merely French for Trade Unionism, and modern Syndicalism is but an extension of the old and familiar working-class idea that through Trade Unions rather than politics is the line for them of social progress. In a sense it may be said that the Syndicalists are the intellectual offspring of our 'old-fashioned' trade unionists. Syndicalism arose in France where Trade Unions were suspected by the Government, and were legalised only in 1884. A general congress was held in 1886, at which a National Federation of Syndicats (Trade Unions) was constituted, but it was captured by the Guesdist party of Socialists, and had little influence.

Meanwhile another National Federation had been constituted. The Bourses du Travail of French towns combine the functions exercised in England by the Labour Exchange, the Trades Council, and a workmen's club or institute, and they are assisted by subventions from the Municipalities. The first was opened in Paris in 1887, and in 1892 a Federation of Bourses du

Travail was formed. At its Congress of 1893 the principle of the General Strike was adopted.

Efforts were made to amalgamate these two National Federations, but for the time being without success. Trade Unionism was rapidly growing. The number of Unions was 68 in 1884 and 2178 in 1894, whilst the membership increased from 139,692 in 1890 to 403,440 in 1894. At the Trade Union Congress of 1894 held at Nantes, at which 1662 Unions were represented, a resolution in favour of a General Strike was adopted, and the Guesdist Socialists withdrew. At the Congress of 1895 the Federation of Syndicalists adopted a new constitution and a new name: The General Confederation of Labour (*La Confédération Générale du Travail*), commonly called the C.G.T.

The past relations with the Socialist groups had led to many troubles, and it was to meet this rather than any more permanent difficulty that the C.G.T. adopted as its first statute the decision to remain independent of all political schools. Further, it included the General Strike in its programme. This congress may be regarded as the beginning of Syndicalism as an organised movement. A party was definitely constituted with the revolutionary ideas of Socialism, and yet pledged to disclaim the method of politics on which the Socialists relied.

Meanwhile the Federation of the Bourses du Travail was making steady progress. The number of these bodies increased from 34 in 1894 to 96 in 1902, and in the latter year £9836 was contributed to them by

public authorities. In 1894 Fernand Pelloutier (1867-1901) became General Secretary. He was a Communist Anarchist, a man of exceptional ability, and perhaps the ablest Trade Union organiser that France has produced. Under his management the Federation grew steadily in numbers and influence. Further efforts at amalgamation succeeded in 1902, when the Federation of Bourses became an integral part of the C.G.T.

The latter organisation, founded as before mentioned in 1895, had for several years made but slow progress. At its annual congresses the General Strike was the chief subject of discussion, and was approved by the majority, though a minority steadfastly opposed it. In 1897 the Congress for the first time discussed the boycott and sabotage on a report prepared by two Anarchists, and unanimously adopted a resolution recommending these methods when strikes were ineffective. The whole income of the C.G.T. was only £78, and at this period it was not really a powerful body compared with English organisations on the same lines.

During these years the C.G.T. was not completely Syndicalist, as that term is now understood. It discussed such subjects as alcoholism, and the election of factory inspectors, and most of the reports advocate co-operation with the legislature. But the acceptance of office under M. Waldeck-Rousseau in 1899 by M. Millebrand, the Socialist leader, raised such a violent controversy that at the Congress of Lyons a resolution was adopted unanimously that syndicats should remain independent of all political parties. About this time

Anarchists began to abandon their own propaganda in favour of participation in the syndicates, and at the Congress of Lyons in 1901 the revolutionary character of the Confederation became more pronounced. By 1904 the C.G.T. had 150,000 affiliated members and an income of £1200. At the Congress held at Bourges the reformist section put up another fight, but the revolutionists defeated them by 812 votes to 361. The delegates numbered 450, holding 1178 votes representing that number of separate unions. The reformists were also beaten in their attempt to introduce the 'card' system of allowing votes proportionate to the membership of the union, which is familiar to English Trade Unionists. The fact that the big unions in the C.G.T. are constantly outvoted by small unions is an element of instability which may have to be reckoned with.

In 1906 the Confederation organised a general strike for Labour Day, the 1st May, in which 202,507 work-people in 2585 industrial establishments took part. The object of the strike was supposed to be the establishment of an eight hours day, but many unions demanded no more than a nine or ten hours day. The agitation lasted in places for some months. According to official returns only 45 strikers achieved complete success: about 10,000 obtained the nine or ten hours they demanded; 58,000 secured something, and 134,000 failed altogether. At the Congress of the same year a fresh attempt was made by the reformists to work with the Socialist party, which had just become

unified, and had returned 54 members to the Chamber of Representatives. It was defeated by 724 votes to 34, and the Confederation was thus pledged anew to Anti-parliamentarianism. By 1910 the Confederation had grown to 3012 unions with 357,814 members, but 2248 other unions with 619,536 members were not federated with it; many of these latter, however, would in England be counted as Friendly Societies rather than Trade Unions.

In October 1910 occurred the disastrous Railway Strike for which no proper preparations had been made, and which indeed was declared against the wishes both of the leaders and of the mass of the Union members. Except on the Northern and Western Railways it was hardly supported at all: the Government called out the troops and proclaimed the strike illegal under an old law. In a week it had come to an end and its chief result was the loss of thousands of members to the Railwaymen's Union. Since that year there has been a long series of strikes, large and small, in almost every industry, due mainly to the influence in the C.G.T. of 'insurrectionalist' Anarchists. Many of the Unions have suffered considerable reductions in membership, and a good deal of discouragement has spread through the Labour Movement.

In the summer of 1913 the C.G.T. organised a campaign of protest against a new law which increased the term of military service, and a number of its most active officials were imprisoned for sedition.

At the present time a change of spirit is apparent in

the C.G.T. It seems to have broken away from the Anarchists and is beginning to devote itself seriously to the problems of Trade Union organisation, to increasing its membership, its funds, and thereby its fighting force.

An important internal reform was decided on at the Havre Congress of 1912, the substitution of Departmental Unions (Trades Councils covering the 86 Departments of the country) for the old Bourses du Travail. On January 1st, 1914, these will no longer form a part of the Confederation. The present membership is about 500,000.

THE NATURE OF SYNDICALISM

Syndicalism may be regarded as a blend between Trade Unionism and Anarchism. From the former it has taken its conception that working-class salvation is to be sought, not in politics but in self-help and self-organisation; that capitalists are to be fought and conquered, not by the community organised politically, but by the working classes organised industrially; and that the working man is before everything else a miner or engineer or cotton operative, and only secondarily a citizen.

From Anarchism has been borrowed or rather inherited a profound belief in the moral value of a revolt. Strikes, say the Syndicalists, are good in themselves, whether they succeed or fail. Especially are they valuable as accustoming the workers to a form of action which will

culminate in the General Strike which will be 'the Revolution.'

From Anarchism also comes the conception of the future state, which is virtually communism. Government as we know it is to be abolished, and so also is the whole commercial system founded on property. Public life is to be 'wholly within the Trade Unions—the union of local Trade Unions, the Labour Exchange, is to gather to itself all useful functions: the functions of the State are to go to the Trade Federations and to the Confederation.'¹ From each according to his abilities, and, we may add, inclinations: to each according to his needs and desires was to form the basis of economic organisation. The necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—would be free on demand, the community would be one family, where there was plenty for all, and each helped himself to what he needed. The machinery of production would also be owned in common, and each would have a right only to what he was using, as in a family there is no private property amongst its members in the chairs and tables, but only the temporary right of occupancy. Under Syndicalism this complete communism would be modified by the control vested in the Trade Unions over the instruments of each trade.

Again, from Anarchism comes the revolt against the use of authority. No one is to give orders: no one need obey them. With the removal of class rule, of competition for wealth and all that it implies, it is believed

¹ *Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth*, by Émile Pataud and Émile Pouget, p. 113.

that a certain sweet reasonableness will envelop mankind. It will be possible to come to unanimous agreements on all points of policy: a mass meeting, apparently without even a chairman, and certainly without rules of debate, will discuss matters until, as in a Quaker business meeting, some course is hit upon on which all can agree, and it is hoped all will in fact agree and will carry the decision into effect voluntarily and cordially. However this may be, it is clear that in the future state there will be nobody to give orders, and no compulsion on anybody except perhaps 'the recalcitrants.'

It is sometimes asserted that Syndicalism is based on the conception of the ownership and control of each branch of industry by those working in it, and the organisation of society on the basis of occupation instead of locality.

For the French School at any rate this requires qualification. MM. Pataud and Pouget clearly assert¹ that 'no trade union, no public service, though autonomous from the point of view of management and working, could have an isolated life, could set up for itself special accounts, separate itself from the community. If it had been otherwise, it would have been the germ of collective privileges, of advantages for special Trade Unions which would have developed on the ruins of the individual privileges of capitalism. This dangerous rock was avoided.' In other words, the conception is communism in distribution; the Trade Union is to manage production, but to have no property in the product.

¹ *Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth* (Tr.) p. 13.

Local government is apparently to be in the hands of the Trades Council, and Central Government is to be the Trade Union Congress, meeting only at intervals. In all cases it is assumed that the abolition of property will simplify government to the vanishing point.

With Anarchism Syndicalism shares its strong antipathy to militarism. This aversion appears to be a compound of several factors. The ideal of Syndicalism is utterly opposed to international violence, or indeed to force of any kind. A world-wide Garden of Eden is the conscious aim, and in this respect it only differs from other social ideals in that its adherents believe that some such utopia could be reached forthwith amongst European races, whilst other races can be conveniently ignored.

Then in France and other continental countries conscription is a severe personal burden on the working classes, and a constant interference with individual liberty, whilst everywhere the cost of armaments is an excessive drain on the resources of the great nations. Moreover, a fair case can be made out for the proposition that many wars have been fought by the working classes for the benefit of the possessing classes, and that expenditure on armaments is largely undertaken at the instigation of the capitalists with a view to increasing the dividends of their companies. Lastly, the army is looked upon as a force to be used for the protection of property, and especially to defeat any general strike. For all these reasons Syndicalism is always and everywhere anti-militarist, and it is apt to come into conflict

with military law when its emissaries are engaged in propaganda amongst the soldiery, with a view to persuade them to refuse obedience, if called in to quell civil disturbances.

We have left to the last the most characteristic doctrine of Syndicalism—sabotage. The Socialist conception of class-war has been distorted by Syndicalism: in its origin it signified that the interests of the proletariat are necessarily opposed to those of the capitalists, and a *struggle* must ensue between the two. In fact, war in that sense is going on all the time wherever capitalism has developed sufficiently. The Syndicalist regards this state of things as war actually existing and as abrogating the civil law which others recognise. Hence as certain Anarchists have held that the assassination of political leaders was permissible, because 'the people' was at war with the governing classes, so the Syndicalist takes the view that the workers may, and in some circumstances should, wage industrial war with the capitalists, by damaging their machines, by deliberately producing defective goods so as to ruin their trade, and by giving as little work as possible in return for wages paid. Especially in case of strikes, which may be regarded as battles in the war, should these tactics be adopted. It is often stated in England that 'ca canny,' the policy of restricting the output per man engaged at time wages is a regular rule of Trade Unions. How untrue this is can be learned from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's *Industrial Democracy*.¹

¹ P. 307.

Economic science lends no support to the theory that the wage-earner normally benefits by inefficient work, whilst it is equally opposed to the much more widely prevalent belief of the employers that they in the long run benefit by low wages.

Syndicalism is unique in one respect amongst the movements we are describing. It is a genuine working-class product. The earlier Socialism was thought out by the students described in former chapters. Modern Socialism was created by the brains of Marx and Lassalle: recent modifications began with Sidney Webb and his Fabian colleagues. Anarchism was expounded in the first place by individual agitators and literary philosophers.

Syndicalism, on the other hand, is the work of no one man, but is a spontaneous growth, a body of opinion which has gradually been evolved by a number of obscure persons.

None the less it has its literary exponents, of whom the chief is M. Georges Sorel, who was born in 1847 at Cherbourg, received a good education in Paris, and after twenty-five years' work as an engineer, retired decorated with the Legion of Honour. He wrote books on the Bible and the Dreyfus Case, and founded a Socialist Magazine, the *Devenir Social*, which did not live long. In 1898 he published a pamphlet entitled *L'Avenir socialiste des Syndicats*, which is the first reasoned exposition of parts of the Syndicalist creed, and in particular attacks the Intellectuals (that is the Parliamentary Socialist party) for making a business of

exploiting politics : ' the future of Socialism,' he says, ' is to be found in the development of self-governing Trade Unions.'

Reference may be made to his theory of the Social Myth, which is clearly a product of the study and not a conception which would ever enter into the head of a workman or even of an active politician. It is indeed the very ancient notion that religion is good for the common people, the idea which impels the squire to attend church for the sake of setting an example to the villagers. Sorel's view is that something dramatic must be set up as the ideal to be aimed at, in order to evoke enthusiasm. The Marxian catastrophic revolution served its day : ' the general strike for revolutionary Syndicalists represents the coming of the future world.' After this it is perhaps hardly unexpected that M. Georges Sorel has recently ceased to be a believer in Syndicalism. M. Sorel has fortified his position by an appeal to the opinions of Bergson, the fashionable philosopher of the day. If instinct be enthroned above reason it follows that the remedy for social wrong would be the uprising of a revolting proletariat, rather than the gradual process of law based on scientific examination of the problem. But this is a point for magazine articles rather than a factor in a popular movement.

Syndicalism, the hybrid offspring of Anarchism and Trade Unionism, is found in countries where these movements co-exist, and roughly in proportion to their strength. Wherever one parent is absent, as in Spain and Russia, which have little Trade Unionism, or in

England and Australasia, which have little Anarchism, we shall find that Syndicalism is uncommon or unknown.

After France the country where Syndicalism has most adherents is Italy, and here it is partly a cross between Co-operation and Anarchism, and hence it has characteristics of its own. The Italian Syndicalists were defeated at a Socialist Conference at Rome in 1906 by 5278 votes to 26,547, and thenceforward formed themselves into a separate party. The working classes of Italy were ill-educated and very poor. Small Trade Unions are widely spread both in towns and amongst agricultural workers; co-operation in agriculture is general; local government is popular and endowed with large powers. Moreover, co-operative societies of workmen, like those of Russia and New Zealand, undertake contracts from public authorities and have even built and leased a railway. Syndicalists may disdain these peaceful activities, but they familiarise the minds of the people with direct organisation by the workers in certain trades. Socialism, on the other hand, is exceptionally middle-class, to the extent of 50 or 60 per cent of the membership, and politics are decidedly corrupt.

Syndicalism in Italy has produced two literary leaders. Arturo Labriola, a Neapolitan barrister and university professor, takes a less revolutionary view of the subject than that common in France. He suggests that the combined workers of any trade might hire the capital (instruments of production) from the capitalist,

and distribute the proceeds communistically. Finally, a federation of such productive Trade Unions might be strong enough to refuse payment of interest, and then the revolution would be complete. Italian Syndicalism contemplates ownership as well as control of industry by the workers taking part in it. Enrico Leone is the author of a text-book, *Il Sindacalismo*, which has been translated into Russian and Spanish, and which connects Syndicalism with the evolution of the universe and the history of mankind.

In Germany there appears to be little Syndicalism, though a section of Trade Unions oppose the prevalent centralisation of the movement, and object to parliamentary action. They are called Lokalisten or Anarcho-Sozialisten, and have two papers, *Die Eigenheit* and *Der Pioneer*.

The United States provides a soil which exactly suits Syndicalism; politics are notoriously corrupt; the government is popular, and yet is controlled by the classes, and politicians in large numbers go into politics to seek personal ends. Organised labour has hitherto failed to secure any appreciable representation in government, either central or local.

The American Syndicalist movement consists of a Trades Union called the Industrial Workers of the World, or more commonly the I.W.W. It was anticipated to some extent by the Knights of Labour, a general federation of Trade Unions formed about 1869 mainly for the purpose of assisting strikes. By 1886 nearly 9000 unions were federated. A series of

defeats from the failure of sympathetic strikes between 1886 and 1888 led to disputes, and the American Federation of Labour, an organisation analogous to our Trade Union Congress, gradually supplanted it.

The I.W.W. was born at the Colorado Miners' Strike in 1903-4, and was constituted in June 1905 at a Convention at Chicago, which was attended by 186 delegates claiming to represent 90,000 members, but some of these appear to have fallen away at the outset. Opposition to Trade Unions marked the first declaration of principles. At the second Convention, 1906, 83 delegates, representing 60,000 members, were present. Two years later a moderate section now called the True I.W.W., split off, and seems to be closely associated with the Socialist Labour Party, the small and elderly rival of the American Socialist Party.

The seventh annual Convention was held at Chicago in 1912. William D. Haywood, the miners' leader, is the most notable personality in the movement. He was till recently also a member of the National Executive of the Socialist party, but his election was 'recalled' by a referendum in 1913.

Syndicalism, or something very much like it, was first preached in Great Britain by the Socialist Labour Party, an import from the United States, which advocated industrial unionism in the pages of a monthly entitled the *Socialist*, published at Edinburgh. Public attention was, however, first attracted to the subject by Mr. Tom Mann. He first came into prominence at the Dockers' Strike of 1889, when he

was the colleague of John Burns and Ben Tillett, and he was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891-4. Subsequently Mr. Mann lent his volcanic energy to a series of movements and occupations from the Liberalism of the London Reform Union to the Socialism of the Social Democratic Party and the business of a licensed victualler. He then left England, and remained for many years as an agitator in Australasia. Returning about 1910 he started out as the apostle of the new creed.

There was at this period considerable industrial unrest. Strikes and lock-outs in South Wales in 1910-11 were complicated by a struggle between the old men who had led the unions for a generation and a new school of younger men, such as Mr. Vernon Hartshorn and Mr. Charles Stanton. In 1911 came the Railway Strike, the Transport Workers' Strike, and an industrial upheaval of considerable magnitude. In 1912 the Miners' Federation of Great Britain undertook a national strike in order to obtain a minimum wage. Here, then, was an industrial seed-bed in which Syndicalism might be expected to flourish, and the prosecutions of Mr. Tom Mann and others for inciting soldiers to refuse obedience to orders in case of strikes afforded the new movement a national platform.

Moreover, the Socialist journalists were delighted to find something fresh to write about, and quite a number of books have been published by them on the subject. But, in fact, although the word Syndicalism has been widely bandied about, the amount of real belief in the

teachings of Syndicalism in England appears to be almost microscopic. A few old Anarchists have rallied to the new faith. Prince Kropotkin has written a new preface to the translation by Charlotte and Frederic Charles of *How we shall bring about the Revolution*, by Émile Pataud and Émile Pouget, and Mr. H. G. Wilshire, a wealthy American with erratic opinions, finding his Socialist teachings not particularly acceptable in his own country, has come to England to promulgate the new faith. Syndicalism is also patronised by the rebels against authority of whatever sort. The *Daily Herald*, which was started as a Labour journal, but soon fell into the hands of opponents of the Labour Party and advocates of militancy for the attainment of women's suffrage, gave hospitality in its columns to Syndicalist writers who approved the use of violence for political ends, and denounced as traitors the parliamentarians in general, and in particular the Labour members of Parliament.

The industrial unrest led men to cheer revolutionary orators, but did not turn either Trade Union leaders or the rank and file into convinced Syndicalists. Our old-fashioned Trade Unionists are the antithesis of everything which makes for Syndicalism, and old-fashioned Unionism is still a force to be reckoned with. Progressive Trade Unionism has been winning victories over the old ideas, but progress to the British Trade Unionist has been towards political action and not away from it. Mr. Tom Mann has founded an Industrial Syndicalist Education League, and issued a monthly

paper, the *Syndicalist*, which lasted from 1910 to 1913. In September 1913 an International Syndicalist Congress was held in London, when about 40 delegates met in private. There appears, however, to be no evidence that Mr. Mann has hitherto obtained any considerable following in England or is likely to do so in the future.

In fact, there is always and necessarily a disproportion between the promises and the performances of social pioneers. The prophets of the new faith paint in brilliant colours the glories of their New Jerusalem. They honestly believe that all things are possible to them that believe. The means of salvation, they rightly allege, is political conflict: they ask for votes and presently receive them. They form a Labour Party in the House, and their opponents declare that the end of all things is at hand. And then nothing dramatic happens! They claim that they have forced the Government to grant Old Age Pensions, Meals for School Children, Wages Boards for Sweated Labour. All this is progress, remarkable progress, but it is the same old earth, and by no means the new heaven. Naturally, inevitably, there is disappointment. The men in Parliament know the difficulties. Social problems are not the only problems. The Irish farmers, the Welsh Nonconformists, the Scottish teetotalers have their grievances: Wireless Telegraphy and Women's Suffrage, Mental Deficiency and a hundred other matters claim attention. The most strenuous of governments can only move slowly. After

all, then, what is the good of sending men to Parliament? It is not a question of half a loaf: it is mere crumbs in view of those who dream of a millennium. Can we wonder that a few men here and in every country are too impatient to persevere in the wearisome uphill path of political progress? They seek a short cut to their goal. They persuade themselves that a General Strike might bring on 'the revolution' in fewer days than the decades which politics require. At any rate they demand 'direct action.' Politics is too slow, too uncertain: voting for other people leads to nothing: let each man act for himself.

The Syndicalist spirit is the inevitable outcome of the first successes of Socialism. It will reappear at every step in advance. Some day the Labour Party will attain to office in alliance with others as in France, or alone as in Australia. Even then their achievements will not satisfy a section of their followers, and another outbreak of Syndicalism, or its equivalent, may be predicted. The whole thing is 'the swing of the pendulum' in a somewhat new form. But there is an element of valuable criticism in the Syndicalist idea. The old conception of Socialism as the ownership and control of the means of production, the consumers organised as a democratic state, leads in a modern industrial community direct to centralised bureaucracy. Such an idea is to the vast majority altogether distasteful. It would mean that, as a group of half a dozen men in the Cabinet now have virtual power to come to all decisions (within limits) affecting government, as

the Postmaster-General, in the last resort, can rule the life of every postman in the land, so under this conception of Socialism, however democratic the Government might be, a very few men would necessarily be entrusted with the control of the lives of every citizen, and from this control there would be virtually no escape.

Instinctively, naturally and properly the worker demands some control over his work. For eight or nine hours a day, and five and a half or six days a week for the best part of his life he is a producer, and he wants to exercise himself some authority over the work he does and the conditions in which he does it. The community, organised as it will be in the future, or unorganised as it largely is at present, must as consumer decide on the product demanded: the control of the steamship, the railway, the factory, must of necessity be vested in one captain or manager. But some method will have to be devised which restores to the individual worker some part at any rate of that control over his own industrial life which he possessed before the industrial revolution. But the use of the word *devised* is misleading. Society shapes itself in accordance with the feelings of the people. The social organism is in literal truth a growth. Syndicalism has arisen in time to remind us that the Post Office is not the model on which the whole industry of the country can be managed, and we may be confident that experiment and experience will point out ways in which the necessary organisation and discipline of labour will be

harmonised with that independence and self-control which the worker justly claims.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

It remains to say a few words about a leading tenet of Syndicalism, the advocacy of the General Strike. The phrase is used in a variety of senses to which attention must first be directed.

The General Strike for which Syndicalists are preparing is a national cessation of work for the purpose of putting an end to the capitalist system. The workers are to refuse collectively to work any longer for their employers : they are to take possession of the instruments of production—the factories, the mines, the railways—and to operate them, when the strike concludes, for themselves, and for the community as a whole.

But Socialists and Trade Unionists have also advocated the General Strike, in particular counties for particular purposes, and especially as a means of preventing the outbreak of war. We may therefore distinguish three uses of the phrase :

The Syndicalist Strike, for the purpose of revolutionising the economic system.

The Socialist Strike, for effecting a political object.

The Trade Unionist Strike, which is merely the industrial strike on a large scale.

The first has not yet been attempted and perhaps

never will be. The second has been adopted on several occasions. The most dramatic and successful was the Russian Strike of October 1905 for a constitution which was granted. The Belgian Strike of 1913, against the refusal of the Conservatives to reform the franchise, was general but by no means universal; neither the railway men nor the tramway men nor the gas, electric light, or newspaper employees as a rule joined it; it was terminated by a promise which was not very conclusive. The third class is little more than a specially big strike of several trades. The most typical case is the Swedish Strike of 1909 for improved conditions of labour.

On account of this lack of definition it is extremely difficult to give a complete history of general strikes. A catalogue would include strikes for a political purpose, and big concerted strikes in trades which directly concern the country as a whole. A railway strike partakes of the character of a general strike. A cotton operatives' strike, however important, does not. It would also include local strikes in connection with which revolution was advocated. A list of general strikes, or strikes which have been so described,¹ is given as an Appendix. It will be noticed that very few of them even approximate to the Syndicalist ideal. Those on a national scale were in most cases for political objects abhorrent to Syndicalists, or on ordinary Trade Union lines.

¹ Those up to 1904 are given in a pamphlet, 'The Social General Strike,' by Arnold Roller. Tr. by F. K. Pub. by Geo. Bauer, New York, n.d.

Finally, we may point out that the General Strike, though a very difficult weapon to wield, is undoubtedly a weapon of enormous power. If any civilised people finds it necessary in the future to embark upon a social revolution, this is the form it is most likely to assume. But a real General Strike is only possible when the working classes are united against the Government, and in a constitutional country with a democratic suffrage this is a contingency which cannot possibly occur.

CHAPTER XII

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM ABROAD

SOCIALISM as a world movement is a new type of political phenomenon. Nothing even approximately like it has ever been witnessed before except in some degree the Protestant Reformation. The nations of Europe have passed through political evolution, but the change from the autocracy of the dark ages to the qualified democracy of the present day has been spread over 1000 years, and is still incomplete. The revolt against the spiritual domination of Rome was virtually simultaneous throughout the then civilised world, and in a historically brief period the battle ended without the overthrow of either side.

But the world has changed since the sixteenth century. Socialism and capitalism will not be fought out on national battlefields, and there is no chance that the Socialist revolt will be stamped out, even in Russia, by any modern equivalent of the Inquisition.

The survey of the nations of the world to which this chapter is devoted, presents a picture which must be profoundly distasteful to the few extremists who really

believe (as Lord Rosebery probably did not) that Socialism is 'the end of all things.' The modern Socialist movement, virtually founded by Marx and Lassalle, has spread to every country of the world. Everywhere we find the same story: first one or two or half a dozen enthusiasts: then a slow process of organisation: premature attempts to capture parliamentary seats ending generally in defeat; and at length steady growth, hundreds of votes becoming thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and sometimes millions: the Socialist party expanding at the expense of all the others, till at length it is the largest in the country, as in Germany and Finland, and even captures supreme power, as the Labour Party in Australia has done. Occasionally there are set-backs caused by differences in tactics, as that in France due to the rise of Syndicalism, but these, like the Anabaptists and Levellers of the Reformation, are not developments calculated to comfort upholders of the old doctrines. The rate of travel in the physical world has been multiplied by ten within a century; our forefathers could journey at 5 or 6 miles an hour and we at 50 or 60. It would seem that the progress of world changes is accelerated in like degree, and as the conversion of Europe to Christianity occupied approximately 1000 years, and went on steadily, irresistibly and without substantial check, so the conversion of Europe to Socialism is proceeding as steadily, as irresistibly, and with even less sign of reaction, and at ten times the pace, so that it is hard to believe that within

a century of the death of Marx (1883) any civilised country will remain where it is not triumphant.

The following pages may seem to the reader a monotonous repetition of figures and details of organisation. Nevertheless, it is only by this repetition that the necessary impression can be produced. If the reader desires to appreciate the force of modern Socialism, he must compel his imagination to picture what is going on in every civilised country. On this summer Sunday whilst I am writing, literally thousands, probably tens of thousands of meetings, lectures, excursions, concerts, services, are being held for the promotion of Socialism. In every industrial city in Europe, in America, in Australasia, in most cities even in Asia and Africa, the economic gospel will be preached to-day, sometimes in large crowded halls by the best-known statesmen of the land, sometimes to little groups of ignorant artisans by some half-educated youth only less ignorant than the rest. Let the reader try in imagination to fill in the flesh and blood to the figures which follow: to remember what effort is needed to keep one branch going, to finance one newspaper, to conduct one election; and finally let him remember that even in England there is here and there a danger of boycott and loss of employment by too ardent and open adherence to the movement; that in Germany the Government regards Socialists as traitors, and uses all the administrative force at its command to keep them down; that in many countries the social and economic powers, on

whom the working classes depend for the opportunity to earn wages, are bitterly hostile; in a word that everywhere the Socialist is fighting against the established order with all its prestige and power, and yet fighting successfully and winning every battle. The truth of this picture will be clear from the following pages.

GERMANY

The German Social Democrats are still the most powerful and by far the best organised of the Socialist Parties in the great nations. Differences of tactics, of policy and even of theory have arisen in their ranks, but the German Socialists possess the rare and supreme political virtue of toleration. They wage vigorous war within the party in support of conflicting opinions, but they keep their party intact. There have been no important secessions; the party remains a solid political unit. Its progress may be measured by the following figures:—

[TABLE

GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE IN GERMANY

Year.	Social Democratic Vote (First Ballot).	Percentage of Total Vote.	Social Democrats Returned.
1871	124,655	3	2
1874	351,952	6·8	10
1877	493,288	9·1	13
1878	437,158	7·6	9
1881	311,961	6·1	13
1884	549,990	9·7	24
1887	763,128	10·1	11
1890	1,427,298	19·7	35
1893	1,786,738	23·2	44
1898	2,107,076	27·2	56
1903	3,010,771	31·7	81
1907	3,259,020	28·9	43
1912	4,250,329	34·8	110

A seat was won at a by-election in July 1913, making the total 111.

The Reichstag is composed of 397 members. If the Social Democrats were represented in proportion to their vote of 1912 they would have 138 members. There has been no redistribution of seats since the empire was constituted in 1872, and constituencies, all single-member, vary in size from Teltow with 388,798 electors to Bückeburg with 10,709. It need hardly be said that the population has increased most in the industrial districts, where Social Democracy is strongest.

There is no formal change to record in the principles of this powerful party. Its tactics, while remaining

essentially the same, naturally vary to some degree according to circumstances. It adheres to the Erfurt programme. Its single-minded aim is the advocacy and promotion of the interests and ideals of the working class of Germany without formal compromise, and without alliance with other parties, though it is ready to co-operate with them in particular questions, especially in the State parliaments of South Germany. The party have steadily refused to vote for the imperial budgets, not only because voting for budgets is regarded as acquiescence in the existing *régime*, and because the revenue is largely expended in support of militarism, but also because so much of it is raised by indirect taxes that throw an unfair burden on the poorer classes. To the high tariff, which, after long discussion, came into operation in 1906, they have offered the most strenuous resistance. They are also in general opposed to the 'colonial' policy of the empire. They are the champions of the democratic rights of the people, of free speech, of a free press, and especially of the right of combination. In all matters relating to factory legislation, and the better protection of the working class in its daily life and vocation, they are forward both to make suggestions themselves and to assist any legislation which is really fitted to contribute towards these important ends. They claim, in fact, to be the representatives and advocates in the widest sense of the working class of Germany, and are opposed to all measures which tend to strengthen the class State.

The party is still loyal to its founders. The busts of Lassalle, Marx, Engels, and, since his death in 1900, of Liebknecht, are placed amidst ferns and flowers on the platforms at their annual Congresses. With the growth of Social Democracy in Germany and throughout the world, the greatness of these men becomes constantly clearer. Their writings, whether learned or popular, are read and pondered in all lands of the civilised world. In most countries great organisations have been formed avowedly based on their teachings; elsewhere they inspire the ideas, directly or indirectly, of those who already control the destinies of nations, or will do so in the near future. Lassalle and Marx are already historical figures of the first magnitude.

But it is clear that, if the Social Democracy is to guide the destinies of the working class of Germany, it must not stiffen and degenerate into a sect. Its principles and tactics founded on the views of Marx must be subject to continual discussion and to revision. The party has been disposed to take Marx too literally, more literally than Marx took himself. They have emphasised too constantly the ultra-revolutionary side of Marx. We have already seen that this ultra-revolutionary note of Marxian doctrine was the product of a time and of circumstances which no longer prevail in Germany or elsewhere. And there was another side to Marx. He had regard to his environment, as every man must have. Even in the Communist Manifesto he recommended co-operation with other advanced parties for the attainment of

democratic ends. He recognised the possibilities of progress contained in a peaceful evolution. Factory legislation and the co-operative movement in England were not only good results, they were victories of new principles. As we have seen, he believed that in America, England, and Holland, the workmen might attain their goal by peaceful means. In a milder time it would only be consistent that this milder side of Marx should be more emphasised by his followers.

North Germany is the stronghold of the more orthodox or 'Radical' section of the party, especially Prussia, which is ruled by an unbending, autocratic, and able bureaucracy. Bismarckian distrust of democracy dominates its governing class; and Socialists are still treated as enemies of the State and traitors to the Kaiser. Hence any proposals for increasing State management of industry are distasteful to the Social Democrats, because they would limit the political freedom of the work-people concerned. Hence also that sharp distinction between State Socialism and Social Democracy, which to English Socialists seems almost meaningless.

In South Germany things are very different. Georg von Vollmar, the aristocratic leader of the Bavarian Socialists, has always rejected the Marxian doctrine of the progressive concentration of land (and capital) in ever fewer hands. He and his followers have favoured immediate reforms calculated to win support from the agricultural population, which could never be attracted by the Marxian view that they, like all small producers,

must be ruined by capitalism before any improvement could come to them from Socialism.

The necessity for a criticism of Marx as a condition of the further development of his teaching was first formulated in 1899 by Eduard Bernstein, for many years London correspondent of the *Sozialdemokrat*, in a book, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*.¹ Bernstein's criticism is applied more or less to all the leading positions of Marx, his materialistic conception of history, his dialectical method, his theory of surplus value, his revolutionary conception of social development, which looks forward to a great catastrophe as the close of the capitalistic era. Bernstein maintains that statistics do not favour the theory that a social catastrophe is imminent as the result of a class war carried on by a continually increasing host of impoverished and degraded proletarians against a diminishing band of the colossal magnates of capitalism, and he has greater faith in a peaceful evolution through the democratic transformation of the State, the extension of municipal Socialism, and of the Co-operative Movement. In fact, Bernstein like Marx himself learned from his environment during his long exile in London. As Marx studied the industrial development, so Bernstein mastered the political development of the country of his adoption; and Revisionism, as the new school is called in Germany, is but a German version of the

¹ Published in English by the I.L.P. as *Evolutionary Socialism* (1909. 1s. 6d. or 1s.).

English school of Socialism, as expounded by the Fabian and I.L.P. thinkers and leaders.

The logic of events is on the side of the new school, and in fact overrides the logic of the strictest 'Radicals.' Trade Unionism, which hardly counted outside England twenty years ago, and which according to the iron law of wages could effect nothing for the workers, has in fact grown into a force in Germany, and the Social Democrats long ago recognised its power and its value. There are several groups of Trade Unions in Germany, some of them hostile to Social Democracy, but by far the largest and most powerful, the *Freie Gewerkschaften*, is mainly officered by Socialists usually of the Revisionist section, and is in close alliance with the party. These Unions had at the end of 1912 a membership of 2,559,781, out of a total of 3,000,000 Trade Unionists in the empire. It will be seen that German Trade Unions have equalled our own in membership, though they are as a rule at present behind them in wealth and stability. On the other hand, the Germans, coming late into the field, have wisely established a very few very large centralised organisations instead of the numerous specialised and sometime competing unions which still exist in Great Britain. The same is true about Co-operation. This again is a peaceful evolutionary method of improving the conditions of labour within certain limitations, and beyond this, it has educational results of the highest value. Co-operation in Germany began in agricultural and in credit societies amongst the peasants and small producers. Latterly Consumers'

societies on the Rochdale plan have been established, and in 1911 possessed 1,325,000 members. These also are cordially welcomed by the Social Democrats notwithstanding their incompatibility with the Marxian forecast of economic evolution.

In electoral policy compromise has in fact been adopted for a long time. The party itself was founded on a compromise between the Marxists and the Lassalleans, adopted by Liebknecht and Bebel in spite of the objections of Marx. In 1890 the party leaders advised their followers to vote for all opponents of the Exceptional Law against Socialists, wherever no Socialist candidate was in the field, and this advice led to the secession of the 'Jungen,' who ended a brief career in Anarchy. In 1907 the party supported the Centre Party (Catholics) at the second ballots in order to strengthen the anti-governmental group. In 1912 the party took the extreme step of virtually ordering the election of sixteen Freisinnige (Liberal) candidates who stood at the second ballots *against* Social Democrats, in order to secure Liberal votes in thirty-one constituencies where Social Democrats were opposed by Conservatives or Catholics. This daring move was successful and was endorsed by the party congress afterwards, although the extreme 'Radicals' naturally objected to it.

In Bavaria the Social Democrats in 1912 made a definite compact with the Liberals to divide constituencies and support each other at the polls. Their policy in voting for the State budgets, which had been amended to comply with their demands, was censured at the

Party Congress at Chemnitz, though the Revisionists declared that they would do it again if they thought fit. As this same congress had previously endorsed the compromising electoral tactics just described, it is clear that the Revisionists and Radicals were about equally matched, and that the new school is on its way to victory in name as well as in fact.

This is merely an illustration of the well-nigh universal truth that the deeds are nearly always in advance of doctrines. Religion has its Athanasian creeds: government has its picturesque phrases attributing powers to the sovereign which his predecessors have been beheaded or dethroned for endeavouring to exercise: so parties, even the most modern and revolutionary, in England as well as in Germany, rarely venture to formulate in words policies upon which they act every day. The ideal of the 'Radicals' amongst the Social Democrats is still inveterate hostility to every other party and to every other method of social amelioration, and to this ideal they still in their speeches and their writings yield constant homage. In practice they co-operate with other parties and adopt other methods, such as Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and State Socialism, and the dispute between the Radicals and Revisionists is not so much what shall be done as what shall be said. The Radicals wish to retain their Athanasian^{""} creed because they believed in it once, they hope their hearers may believe in it still, and it is fine material for speech-making. The Revisionists wish to square their words with their deeds,

and to admit that the damnatory clauses of the Social Democratic creed no longer represent the faith they hold. The situation was summed up by the remark of Herr Auer, the veteran secretary of the party, when Bernstein consulted him about publishing his pronouncement for Revisionism : *So was sagt man nicht, so was thut man* : 'One does not say such things, one does them.'¹

The German Social Democratic Party is not merely a successful political party : it is a big complex organisation. In 1913 it had a membership roll of 982,850, of which 141,115 were women. Single constituencies such as Hamburg III. with 42,532 members have as many as the total of enrolled Socialists in the United Kingdom, where, unlike Germany, no disability attaches to membership in a Socialist Society. The income in 1912 was £100,000 at the head office, and local funds must be greatly larger. The party possesses ninety-three newspapers and journals with a total circulation of 1,800,000 : *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the party, circulates 170,000 copies and makes a profit of £15,000. The Reichstag constituency organisations are federated into twenty-nine districts, and these districts are grouped according to the various States of the Empire. The chief authority is the annual Congress, which consists of delegates from the local organisations, the number from each depending upon the size of membership, together with the Social Democratic members of the

¹ Protokoll des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, Hanover, 1899, p. 208.

Reichstag and the members of the Executive Committee. The Congress elects annually the Executive Committee, which consists of the *Partei Vorstand* (comprising a chairman, vice-chairman, a treasurer, six secretaries, one of whom must be a woman, and two assistants), and the *Kontroll Commission*, or Committee of Control, consisting of nine members. The *Vorstand* are mainly paid officials; nearly all of them devote their whole time to party business. They are responsible for the heavy detail work of the party, and have a large clerical staff at their disposal. In order to assist the executive in arriving at decisions on political policy and other important matters, a Council consisting of representatives from the executive committees of the various district federations, was instituted in 1912. This was done, it was said, 'to check the growing bureaucratic tendencies' of the *Partei Vorstand*. There are now fifty paid secretaries of district and state federations and one hundred paid secretaries of local organisations.

There is no doubt as to the efficiency of this ably officialled organisation. The rank and file members are not allowed to remain mere passive payers of subscriptions. They are expected to be active in the distribution of literature, in making converts by constant argument and discussion among their workmates, and in sharing the heavy toil of electioneering and the organising of meetings and demonstrations. In the big industrial regions at election times the Social Democratic battalions work like a machine. Hence in Berlin and

Greater Berlin, with its eight Reichstag divisions, there is now only one which has not gone 'red,' and that, the West End division, in which are situated the Kaiser's palace and the houses of the wealthy, was only saved to the Liberals in 1912 by 9 votes on a poll of over 11,000. In the seven other constituencies at the same election the Social Democratic vote was 559,678 out of a total of 805,730, or nearly 70 per cent. In the purely working-class divisions of these seven the proportion reached 80 per cent. Results almost equally startling were obtained in other big centres of population. With few exceptions every large German city throughout the empire has now a Social Democrat representing it in the Imperial Parliament.

The political sphere, however, is not the only one to which the party devotes time, energy, and money. 'We German Socialists,' says Engels, 'are proud of our descent not only from Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. The German Labour movement is the heir of German classical philosophy.' Lassalle claimed that he wrote every line armed with the entire culture of his century. These proud boasts have doubtless helped to inspire the Social Democrats to become the bearers of art, philosophy, and science to the masses. Among the most active branches of the organisation are the education committees, which have been established in 364 localities. Of these the greater number are formed in conjunction with the Trade Unions. There is also a central education committee, whose duty is to promote and assist the local

committees. The expenditure of these bodies amounted to more than £35,000 in 1912-13. They arranged about 3500 lectures on economics, history, literature, art, socialism, philosophy, co-operation, trade unionism, political science, and technical subjects ; and innumerable concerts, entertainments, and dramatic and operatic performances. These are, of course, in addition to the ordinary propaganda and election meetings, of which about 30,000 were held. The musical and dramatic performances are carried out on a large scale. Theatres, with complete companies of actors, actresses, and orchestras, are engaged to perform plays of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller, as well as modern dramas of a propagandist type. The Education Committee of Hamburg reports successful renderings of Beethoven's symphonies to large audiences of working men, and the Cologne Education Committee found that Bach can secure good attendances from working-class members of the party. The cinematograph has also been brought into the service of Socialist instruction.

One of the most interesting institutions connected with the educational work of the party is the Socialist School or College at Berlin. Here every year thirty-one selected men and women of various ages are given instruction in general, social, and constitutional history ; political economy ; history and theory of Socialism ; social and industrial law ; the art of speaking and writing ; journalism ; and other subjects. Each scholar is allowed a full maintenance grant during the school period. By this means a steady supply of trained agitators

and officials is provided for the party. The cost of the School is £2000 per annum, of which £1000 is spent in maintenance grants.

A special department, the Women's Bureau, deals with the work of the 140,000 women of the party. One day a year, May 12th, the Social Democratic Women's Day, is specially devoted to demonstrations and meetings to demand the extension of the suffrage to women. Special pamphlets, leaflets, and other publications are prepared for the agitation among women, and a special women's conference is held just before the annual congress of the party. A valuable social service is carried on largely by the women of the movement through the medium of Committees for the Protection of Children. These purely voluntary bodies are established in 202 localities. They seek to prevent breaches of the various laws protecting children, especially those connected with child wage-earners; and they are said to be more effective than the State factory inspectors.

Although young persons are forbidden by law to belong to the Social Democrats, the party takes care to keep them in touch with Socialism. There are 655 local committees for this purpose, and a special journal, the *Arbeiter Jugend*, with a circulation of 89,000. In 274 places there are juvenile libraries: 4500 lectures, 2405 concerts and entertainments, and 14,300 excursions, visits to museums, etc., were arranged in 1912-13, and 825,000 copies of pamphlets, etc., for the young were published and circulated.

The stress now laid by the party on immediate

reforms is nowhere so pronounced as in the domain of local government. There are over 12,000 Socialist members of town and village councils acting, not merely as propagandists, but as administrators with a practical programme of municipal Socialism. To their efforts are due, as their opponents sometimes admit, much of the rapid extension of municipal activity and the remarkable improvements which have taken place in the big cities of the empire. Here the Social Democrats have found a valuable and almost inexhaustible field for their energies, and one which is increasingly engaging their attention. A special organ, *Kommunale Praxis*, is published by the party to educate and inform its members on subjects appertaining to municipal and other forms of local government.

The attitude of the party towards their country has latterly undergone a change. It is no longer their opinion that under the present capitalist system it is a matter of indifference to the workers whether their capitalist masters and rulers are German, Russian, or English. Even Bebel declared that he was prepared to fight for his Fatherland in a defensive war, and the party congress of 1907 refused to censure another Socialist member of the Reichstag for an even more militant patriotic declaration. Here the spirit of Lassalle has conquered Marx. While still distinguished for its efforts to maintain peace and goodwill among the nations and its opposition to militarism and the demand for a larger German army and navy, the party

has become, if not less international, less cosmopolitan in its outlook, especially during the last decade.

The secret of the extraordinary achievements of the German Socialists lies in their remarkable combination of idealism and practicality. Though their heads are sometimes among the stars, their feet are always on the solid earth; though many of them still believe in the early Marxian myth of a final collapse of capitalism from which Socialism will rise in full splendour, they never use the plea 'that nothing but Socialism is of any use' in order to shirk the task of grappling with immediate problems. So multifarious are the ways in which they are equipping themselves for the conquest of political power, and so intent are they on the making of their organisation equal to the great mission which Lassalle declared destiny had laid upon the working classes, that to many thousands, as to Eduard Bernstein, 'the movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing.' The movement is a constant, many-sided struggle for political, economic, and social emancipation in which, more and more, experience is replacing abstract theory as a guide. And the training and discipline induced by the ceaseless battling of the movement with opponents and obstacles of all kinds is producing a self-respecting, self-confident, and purposeful democracy which, when it does attain political power, will have learned to use it soberly and with judgment in the tremendous task of changing the German Empire into the German Co-operative Commonwealth.

Since the foregoing was written the sudden death of

August Bebel in Switzerland on August 13th, 1913, closes the first chapter of the history of German Socialism. His funeral at Zurich was an international demonstration attended by hundreds of delegates from every European country. He was the last of the colleagues and contemporaries of Marx: he alone of living men had been a leader from the beginning of the movement: since the death of Liebknecht he had been the chief of his party, without a rival. His commanding position in the Reichstag and in the country no one approached and no one disputed.

His position in the party needs some explanation. He stood for unity, and it was his influence which prevented the 'Radical' majority from taking extreme measures against the Revisionist rebels. But he also stood for the old traditions and the old watchwords, and he was opposed to any formal change of policy during his life. Respect for the veteran made his word law. None the less he had not blocked the way against change. In practice, as has been already explained, the party has long ago abandoned its principles, and Bebel as its leader approved the concessions to opportunism.

The Annual Conference of the party met in September at Jena a few weeks after Bebel's death, and it was soon clear that the situation had changed.

There are now in effect three groups in the party. Besides the 'Radicals' and the Revisionists, there is a solid centre party which stands for the organisation of Social Democracy, the officialdom, the machine. The centre party is solid for unity, and checks the extremists

on either side. It will neither pronounce for the old dogmas with the Radicals nor repudiate them with the Revisionists, but it will support the Revisionists in their opportunist and practical policy. Moreover, the Radicals themselves are divided, since the strict Marxists object to Syndicalist doctrines and the General Strike, whilst the less doctrinaire amongst the Radicals are favourable to a policy which at any rate is dramatic. The questions at issue were the use of the General Strike as a means of preventing a war, and the action of the party in voting for the war tax on the rich, although they were opposed to the increase of the army. The 'Radicals' were decisively defeated, over the first by 335 to 142 and over the second by 336 to 140. The successor to Bebel in the joint chairmanship of the party is Herr Ebert, a safe man belonging to the centre: his colleague Herr Haase was a strong Radical but has latterly taken a middle course.

It seems clear that Germany has at length fallen into line with the other nations, and has explicitly recognised that the method of Socialism is not revolution but evolution.

Parts of the foregoing section are taken from 'The Socialist Movement in Germany,' by W. Stephen Sanders, Fabian Tract No. 169, Fabian Society, 1913. 2d. The editor is indebted to Mr. Sanders for much assistance in this section.

FRANCE

The succession of political upheavals in France between 1789 and 1871 has prevented the formation of stable parties, such as those of our own country, two

of which have histories of two or even three centuries. The system of groups formed round individuals has dominated French Socialism, as it has French Republicanism, and the story of Socialism since the fall of the Second Empire is largely a record of the formation of groups following various leaders, their dissensions, amalgamations, and redivisions.

The suppression of the Commune of 1871 involved the death or banishment of the French Socialists of that period, but in 1877 Jules Guesde who as a youth had taken part in that event, and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, returned from exile (which he had adopted as an alternative) and established a paper, *L'Égalité*, to advocate Marxism. He was a vigorous agitator, and in 1879 at a Trade Union Congress at Marseilles, his Marxian programme was accepted, and the Congress adopted the name 'Socialist Labour.' But the party was unsuccessful at the election of 1881, and at the Congress of 1882 Paul Brousse formed a new party of Possibilists and expelled the Marxians under Guesde and Paul Lafargue. By the 'nineties there were no less than five sections, the two above named, a second Possibilist Party led by Allemane, the Blanquists who maintained the tradition of the old conspirator Blanqui, and a group of Independents, including Millerand and Jaurès. At the election of 1893, forty deputies were successful with a total vote of nearly half a million. Jaurès, who was first elected as a Radical in 1885 but lost his seat in 1889, stood as a Socialist in 1893, and has since then been the most

important leader in France, and indeed of late years the most powerful member of the Chamber of Deputies. He was born in 1859, and is therefore still in the prime of life. He began his career as a professor of philosophy and has been for many years the editor of a Socialist daily, *L'Humanité*. He is a man of magnificent energy, and the most brilliant of French orators and debaters. In 1898 came 'L'affaire Dreyfus,' into which Jaurès flung himself with characteristic vigour; most of the Socialists followed his lead in withstanding the militarist party, but Guesde and his followers objected to Socialists concerning themselves with anything outside Socialism. When Millerand accepted the invitation of M. Waldeck-Rousseau to join his cabinet and Jaurès approved his action, the co-operation between the various groups came to an end.

The International Socialist Congress of 1904 at Amsterdam was mainly occupied in considering the policy of Millerand's action. Jaurès led for his compatriot, whilst Bebel took the other side, and carried the Congress with him. Decisions of the International Congress are regarded as almost mandatory by Continental Socialists; Jaurès accepted the verdict, and in 1906 the present 'Unified Socialist Party' was constituted. But the Group spirit is not dead, and the unified party is not altogether united.

In the election of that year 54 Socialists were returned and 877,999 votes polled. In 1910 the party grew to 76, and the poll to 1,125,877. Since then the number has been reduced to 71. In addition there are

in the Chamber small groups of 'Independent Socialists' and 'Republican Socialists,' and over 200 Radical Socialists, who are perhaps more Radical than Socialist.

The party organisation had in 1912 ■ membership of 63,358, who had paid dues, and some 20,000 others who were in arrears, and the party income was £6380 in 1911, no small part of which was obtained by a levy of £48 on each M.P. out of his salary of £600. In 1912 no less than 5530 Socialists were successful at the municipal elections, and in 282 places the Socialists are in control. Municipal councils, except in Paris and Lyons, are elected by lists, and therefore the Socialists, if successful at all, as a rule carry the whole council. In Paris they hold 15 seats out of 80. But local governing bodies in France are closely controlled by the central authorities, and municipal services are nearly always managed by companies, with the remarkable exception of funerals.

Socialism, it is clear, is a factor in France of as great importance as in Germany. It is not so obvious because it is not concentrated into a single powerful centralised machine, always menacing the Imperial Government, and always openly anti-dynastic. In France Socialism is a principle rather than a party. It shades off on one side into Syndicalism and Anarchism; on the other into Radicalism and Republicanism. A former member of the party, M. Briand, has been Premier; two others have been Ministers; the party leader, Jean Jaurès, is perhaps the most conspicuous personality in the country, and is certainly the most power-

ful of parliamentarians. The greatest French writer of the day, Anatole France, is a Socialist, and a constant exponent of his principles. Socialism in France, therefore, is not to be measured by counting votes, or party contributions. It is an integral part of the intellectual and political life of the whole country.

BELGIUM

No country in Europe has during recent years had a more interesting social history than Belgium. In hardly any country has the working class endured such misery. Ignorance,¹ long hours of labour and low wages, the want of political rights and of organisation, have for generations tended to keep the workers down. All the more surprising, therefore, is the awakening which has taken place in the last few decades. The Belgian Socialist movement is remarkable for its solidarity and complexity. Started in 1885 the Belgian Labour Party was formed 'to organise politically against the exploiters.' Vandervelde, its great leader, has truly said that it united the characteristics of the three great nations surrounding it. From England it adopted Co-operation and self-help; from Germany political tactics and fundamental doctrines; from France its idealist tendencies. The wide scope of its operations, and its acceptance of a variety of methods, has tended to consolidate the party. But doubtless another factor has enabled it to avoid divisions

¹ In 1902 about 10·1 per cent of illiterates in Belgium compared with 3·7 in England and ·07 in Germany.

in its ranks. Belgium has been ruled since 1884 by the Conservative (Catholic) party, and the Socialists have never had the difficult and disruptive choice between maintaining a half-friendly Liberal or Radical Government in office and placing in power their bitterest enemies.

In a Chamber of 166 members the party held 33 seats in 1900, 34 in 1902, 28 in 1904, 30 in 1906, 34 in 1908, 35 in 1910, and 39 in 1912. In this last year the decennial redistribution took place and the Chamber was increased to 186. Contrary to expectation the Clericals, who had a majority of only 6 at the dissolution, secured nearly all the increase with 101 seats, the Liberals retained 44 as before, and there were 2 Christian Democrats. The question at issue is the franchise which is at present complex, additional votes up to 3 being given to landowners, graduates, fathers of families, etc. It has been the practice of the Belgian party to authorise alliances with the Liberals, and for this election a joint ticket was run by the two parties: therefore an accurate calculation of the Socialist vote cannot be made, though it has been estimated at about 600,000.

Party divisions cut very clear and deep in Belgium, and it is probably precisely for this reason that here, as in Germany, alliances between Liberals and Socialists can be openly made, whilst in England, where in fact the line of cleavage between the Labour and Liberal parties is faint, and votes are constantly exchanged, any open avowal of alliance is vigorously disclaimed,

The later history of the part of the Belgian Socialists in the franchise is touched on in the paragraphs dealing with the General Strike.

We must now turn to the special feature of the Belgian movement, its great co-operative organisations.

In Brussels, Ghent, and other towns the Socialists have established a whole hierarchy of institutions, based on co-operative industry, which is perhaps the most individual and successful enterprise carried on by a Socialist party anywhere in the world. It originated at Ghent in 1873 with an association of workmen led by Edouard Anseele, then a compositor, now M.P., and still an active participant in the work. To cope with the high price of bread a co-operative bakery was established, and at first all profits were devoted to improving the conditions of the workers by higher wages and shorter hours. In 1880 this organisation gave birth to the famous Vooruit, which was launched on the world with an initial capital of £2:16:3. From this small beginning has been created an enormous complex of business and social life which is the special feature of Belgian co-operation. The present headquarters of the Vooruit is one of the finest buildings in Ghent. It includes shops for the retail sale, a central café which seats 300 people, where spirits are *not* sold—beer is not regarded as an intoxicant—and a library with 33,000 volumes which are lent to members; it is the headquarters of the Labour Party, and provides offices for practically all the Trade Unions and Friendly Societies, including the

great Sick Club, the Bond Moyson, with 30,000 members. Bread making and selling is the basis of Belgian co-operation, and the number of loaves baked is over 100,000 a week. The bakery is conducted on the most up-to-date methods. It has also a brewery and a coal depot, 7 drug stores, 6 clothing stores, 6 boot stores, 23 grocery shops, and 3 cafés. In addition it has under it, or in close association with it, a printing press, cotton mills, furniture factories, and a savings bank, whilst the social activities are innumerable. Finally there is an old-age pension scheme for members over 60 of 20 years' standing, varying from 2s. to 4s. 9d. a week according to purchases during membership, on which in 1912 nearly £2300 was expended.

The Maison du Peuple at Brussels, started in 1881, is now the headquarters of International Socialism, and is on exactly the same lines on an even larger scale, with, in 1912, 36 branches, 6 daughter 'Maisons' with their cafés and offices, 3 bakeries producing 211,000 loaves a week, 6 butcheries, etc. It had in 1912, 25,000 members, 450 employees, a turnover of £260,000, and property worth £140,000.

Of the profits more than half (amounting to £18,075) is returned in dividends on purchases, substantially on the Rochdale plan universal in England, but arranged on a complex scale, 3 centimes on each loaf, 6 per cent on groceries, 5 per cent on draperies, and so on. The sum of £846 was spent on bread given to sick members, £4303 on free medical assistance for members, and £3448 on political

propaganda in addition to the indirect, but none the less substantial, assistance given by the provision of free accommodation for offices, meetings, conferences, etc., of Trade Unionists and Socialists.

Altogether this co-operative system knits the party into a solid whole. As the trade benefits have built up our Trade Unions into substantial and wealthy organisations, so the Co-operative Societies of Belgium have given their Socialist party a stability unequalled by any country in the world except Germany.

ITALY

Italy is a country mainly agricultural, and especially in the south exceedingly illiterate. As the franchise has been confined to literates only 7 per cent of the population have had votes¹; in England 17 per cent, in France 27 per cent, and in Australia 54 per cent are voters. In the north the peasants are organised in co-operative societies and trade unions to an extent unequalled by the agricultural workers of any other country; in the south they are in a condition of poverty, subjection, and ignorance which is almost mediæval, whilst everywhere inter-provincial jealousy is a factor.

The history of Italian Socialism, like that of France, is a record of competing groups, always seeking unity, and constantly breaking up into contending fractions.

The party first definitely separated itself from

¹ The franchise has recently been extended and the electorate increased from 3,319,000 to 8,629,000. The election of October 1913 will therefore have unusual importance.

Anarchism and formed a distinct organisation at the Congress of Genoa in 1892.

At the general election of 1892 it polled only 26,000 votes, but returned 6 deputies. The following elections showed a rapid increase, till in 1900 it counted 175,000 votes, and returned 32 members to the Chamber. On that occasion an alliance with the Radicals and Republicans partly accounted for the increase of members returned. At the general election of 1904 the party had a voting strength of 320,000, but returned only 27 members. In 1909, 40 members were elected, and 338,865 votes recorded.

There have been three main groups: Turati is the leader of a party of reformists, believing in political action and evolutionary Socialism. Arturo Labriola is the head of the extremists who left the party in 1907 to form a separate body of Syndicalists. Professor Ferri was the leader of an intermediate group styled the Integralists. In 1906, owing to internal disputes, the 30 Socialist deputies resigned their seats, and 25 were re-elected. At the Congress of the party in that year the Socialists defeated the Syndicalist group by 26,547 votes to 5278, and the latter left the party. But the fight between the Revisionists and the Marxians still continued, and at Milan in 1910 the Turatists carried the day with 21,994 votes against 6054 for the Revolutionists led by Lassari, and 4624 for the Integralists led by Ferri.

The war in Tripoli introduced fresh discord. The Government of the day had been supported by the

Socialists, but after some hesitation most of them withdrew their support. Bissolati and a few others were expelled, and have since formed a reformist party of their own with 1000 members. Finally, Professor Ferri, who supported the Tripolitan policy, resigned his seat in 1912, and was re-elected as an independent. The secession of this famous leader, author of numerous books, and for years the opponent of the moderate section, is a striking example of the danger to the movement of constant internal dissension.

The Socialist Party in Italy is peculiar on account of its middle-class character. The leaders of Socialism in all countries have as a rule been men of University training, or belonging to the professional classes. But in Italy it was found in 1904 that less than half of the members belonged to the manual labour class. In other countries many scientists, literary men, poets and artists are to be found amongst the Socialists, but in Italy more than elsewhere the best-known writers of the day belong to the party. Industrial disturbances, strikes leading to riots, attempts at general strikes, and other incidents have affected the history of the party, but they have been of temporary importance only, and it is not necessary to describe them in detail.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The empire over which the Emperor Francis has ruled longer than the memory of most people is so

complex that a full description of its Socialist parties would require a chapter to itself.

The Austrian party was organised at the close of the 'eighties, but owing to the very limited suffrage it was only in 1901 that 10 Socialists were elected to the Reichsrath. The demand for electoral reform became urgent in 1905 when the grant of a constitution in Russia evoked great enthusiasm. The working classes declared a holiday throughout the empire on November 28th, when Parliament met; everywhere meetings were held, and in Vienna a procession of a quarter of a million persons bearing red flags paraded before the House of Parliament. In July 1906 preparations were made for a three days' general strike, but the threat was sufficient to overcome the difficulty. At last in January 1907 the law was passed giving the vote to all men over 24.

At the election in May 87 Socialists were returned to a house of 516, and the Socialist vote was 1,041,948, nearly one-third of the total. The Christian Socialist Party captured 96 seats with 722,314 votes, but they are bitterly opposed to the Social Democrats and their Socialism is of a doubtful character.

At the election of 1911 the Socialists increased their vote but lost 5 seats and now number 82. The losses were in rural constituencies: in Vienna they doubled their representation, winning 20 seats out of 33. Unhappily the racial conflict extends to the Socialists, and the party, formerly united, now sits in three groups—the German group of 47, the Bohemian group of 26, and

a Polish group of 8. Dr. Victor Adler, who has been the most prominent Austrian Socialist for many years, is recognised as the leader of the whole party. There are two party organisations: the Austrian Social Democratic Labour Party, with headquarters in Vienna, claims 1369 branches and 145,524 members; the Czech-Slav S.D. Labour Party, with headquarters in Prague, had 144,000 members and 2473 branches.

In the provincial diets the franchise is still restricted, but 31 members have secured seats in 8 diets. Municipal councillors number 3281.

The Hungarians, whose successful struggle for political liberty excited such enthusiasm in England two generations ago, are not in favour of any wide application of the principles for which they suffered. Less than 4 per cent of the working classes have votes; the legal working day is 16 hours; strikes are illegal, Trade Unions are only tolerated as friendly societies, and 354 were suppressed a few years ago. Moreover, political associations are unlawful, and organisation has to be carried on in connection with friendly societies. The Socialists are largely occupied in agitating for franchise reform by means of demonstrations. There are about 300 groups, 50,000 members, and a total income of some £30,000. The party has one daily paper and a number of weeklies. It cannot contest parliamentary elections, but it has succeeded in electing 136 municipal councillors.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Native American Socialism, in the earlier part of the 19th century, took the form of Communities, the histories of which are complicated and curious, but need not detain us. Until recently in the United States careers were open to even mediocre talents, and every native workman had a reasonable expectation of at least securing a competency. Even now this remains to a great extent true, and Socialism in America is largely, if not predominantly, foreign, partly because it is brought over by immigrants and partly because so large a proportion of the lower grades of labour is composed of immigrants or their immediate descendants. In 1910, 71 per cent of the 58,011 membership of the Socialist party was of American birth, but in earlier years the proportion of foreigners was probably greater.

The Civil War put an end to the small beginnings of Socialism amongst the German exiles of the 1848 period: in 1872 the International removed its headquarters to New York, and its last convention was held at Philadelphia in 1876. In 1877 the Socialist Labour Party was formed, which still survives. It was strictly and fiercely Marxian according to the letter and not according to the spirit of the founder, and it made no attempt to adapt itself to its American environment. Disputes with Anarchists occupied the next few years, till the Anarchist party was broken up by the execution, regarded by many as the judicial murder, of its leaders in Chicago in 1887. In 1892 a presidential ticket was

run and 21,512 votes were polled, a number which grew to 82,204 in 1898. But the total vote at this election was 11,969,291, so that the Socialist Labour Party was politically negligible. American Labour has been organised into two great bodies : the Knights of Labour, the earlier, reached its zenith about 1886, when it claimed half a million members, and whence it declined till it came to an end. The American Federation of Labour, which is much on the lines of our English organisations, succeeded it, and is still the most powerful Trade Union organisation in the country. The Socialist Labour Party had a series of alliances and quarrels with these bodies, in which the quarrels were the more numerous and prolonged. A period of disorganisation followed. The Socialist Labour Party was 'impossible,' and attempts to constitute something to replace it for some time failed. None the less the Socialist vote rose to 131,122 in 1900, and on the formation of the Socialist Party to 442,766 in 1904.

In 1901 an amalgamated society had been formed under this name, and it is this body which has at last succeeded in creating a substantial Socialist party on the American continent.

In 1908 the Socialist vote fell to 438,308, and in 1912 rose again to 930,589. In these years two Socialist tickets were run and the total of the two is that given, but the Socialist Labour candidate in 1912 only polled 28,750. The total number who voted in 1912 was 15,034,800, so that as yet Socialism in America is proportionally weaker than in any other

industrial country. Whilst in Australia the Labour Party frequently governs the country, in the United States it is now unable to elect a single member of either house. Victor Berger, the first Socialist member of the House of Representatives, was elected for Milwaukee in 1910, but lost his seat in 1912.

The Socialist Party had in 1912 a membership of 125,826, 13 daily papers (only 5 in English) and 12 monthlies (10 English). Its policy, compared with earlier organisations, is possibilist and constructive, but it maintains what to us seems an excessive regard for the opinions of the German founders as expressed in their writings. Just as certain Christian sects seek Bible texts to justify their every action, so the American Socialists require a Marxian text to sanctify every political or economic proposition. With so voluminous a writer as Marx much latitude within the prescribed limits of orthodoxy is possible, but the experience of mankind from China to Clapham has demonstrated that intelligence is dwarfed by the tacit assumption that no living thinker can surpass the dead.

Undoubtedly the difficulties of organisation in America are very great. It is a nation, of course, but its working people have a dozen languages, and a score of social traditions. It is a federation of some fifty-two states, each autonomous for most branches of social legislation. It is a continent for size and hardly less for population. European countries, with their great capitals, have developed national brains. America, like the lower organisms, has ganglia for various

purposes in various parts of its gigantic frame. But we must return to the history of the Socialist movement.

The American Socialist Party is now well on the way to make itself a factor in politics. American local government is all carried on more or less on parliamentary lines, and one or other party is in office and in power in every state and large town. In 1910 the Socialist Party captured the important city of Milwaukee, returned Victor Berger to Congress, elected the mayor, and conducted the business of the municipality with an uncommon honesty. In 1912 they were defeated by a combination of the other parties. In smaller places similar successes have been gained. Latterly the Socialist movement has been troubled by competition with the Syndicalists, whose history is narrated in another chapter.

Within the Socialist movement John Spargo and Robert Hunter may be mentioned amongst other writers whose books on Socialism are widely read. Outside the party there has been for years a considerable output of sympathetic studies of Socialism, by Professor R. T. Ely, John Graham Brooks, and many others. Amongst the present generation of university students, some of whom take degrees in German universities, there are many Socialists, and the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, which had ten 'chapters' in 1910, had increased the number to fifty-two by the middle of 1912.

American Socialists make great use of the newest

devices of democracy, which are not, however, necessarily in all circumstances the best. All matters are decided by referendums, and officials when elected are liable at any time to be 'recalled.' One referendum vote on policy may be mentioned as significant. In 1909 the party deleted from their programme the phrase advocating the collective ownership 'of all land.' It stated in the 'General Principles' that 'The Socialist party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in an useful and *bona fide* manner without exploitation.' (Referendum B. 1909.)

This is an important declaration, and if American Socialists approach problems in this spirit we may hope for the evolution in due course of a genuine American Socialism. Hitherto the nearest approach to this has been the policy of ex-President Roosevelt and his followers, described by the excellent title of 'National Conservation,' embodying the truly Collectivist demand that the national resources of the country should be preserved from private greed for the use of the community.

HOLLAND

It was not till 1894 that the Social Democratic Labour Party was founded in Holland. At the general election of 1897 it obtained 13,000 votes and returned

3 members out of 100. In 1901 it had 38,279 votes, and returned 7 members, and there was besides an independent Socialist member. It had 65,743 votes and 7 members in 1905 ; in 1910 it polled 82,494 votes, but failed to win more than 7 seats. At the election of June 1913 the Socialists secured 19 seats, a gain of 11; the Liberals 37, a gain of 4 ; whilst the Conservatives with 45, a loss of 15, were in a minority. The Socialists, on the advice of the International Bureau, resolved by a majority not to join the Ministry, and in August a special conference by a vote of 375 to 320 confirmed this decision. The party will, however, support the Liberal Ministry.

An interesting feature of the Dutch movement is the sympathetic reception which Socialism has met among the artistic and intellectual classes. Anarchism has had considerable influence, largely owing to the personality of Domela Nieuwenhuis, who was elected to Parliament in 1888, and passed through extreme revolutionism to Anarchist Communism. He has lived in virtual retirement for many years past, but still publishes a paper, the *Frei Socialist*, twice a week. An ultra-Marxist party, called the Social Democratic Party (without 'Labour'), seceded from the main party in 1908, but only polled 542 votes in four contests in 1910, and 217 at a by-election in 1913 against 4831 for the successful Socialist, Henry Polak, the Secretary of the Diamond Workers. In 1912 the main party had 176 branches and 13,968 members. It is definitely 'revisionist' and constructive in its policy.

It has one daily paper, 14 weeklies, and 7 other periodicals. Trade Unions are fairly strong, but in many cases are syndicalist. Co-operation on Belgian lines is flourishing.

FINLAND

Though a part of the Russian Empire, Finland has a constitution which in recent years the Government of the Tsar has been endeavouring to destroy, but still the country is free from the worst features of the autocracy, and its National Assembly is the only one in Europe in which women have exactly the same rights as men.

The Labour Party was formed in 1899, and in 1905 led the movement which compelled the Tsar to restore the constitution, which was reformed on an extremely democratic basis. At the election of 1907 the Socialist Party returned 80 members (including 9 women) to a Chamber of 200 : in subsequent years this number was slightly increased, and at the election 1911 the party numbered 86, of whom 9 were women. In the election of August 1913 the Socialists increased their party to 90, which is faced by four other parties numbering 29, 28, 28, and 25. No other country in the world has so high a proportion of Socialists in its Parliament, though in Australia the Labour Party is Socialist in its general policy. But neither Finland nor the Australian Commonwealth is quite in the same position as an independent nation.

The party has a regular organisation, with 48,406 members in 1912, a considerable reduction on previous

years owing to the struggle with Russia. Its income was £91,500: it has 6 daily and 10 weekly papers. Altogether, for a small country with only a little over three million inhabitants, nearly all agriculturists, the movement is extraordinarily strong.

DENMARK

The Danish conquest of England, a thousand years ago, has apparently left traces to this day. Its constitutional monarchy is analogous to our own, and its socialist movement is more akin to ours than are those of most continental countries. The present Social Democratic Party was formed in 1878, and from the first has been organically connected with Trade Unionism. It consists of about 400 political branches with 52,000 members, and affiliated Trade Unions with 112,000 members, a total, allowing for duplicate membership, of about 126,000.

It is powerful in the Folkething (House of Commons). In 1901 it elected 14 members with 42,972 votes; in 1903 it had 16; in 1906, 1909, and 1910, 24 each year; and in May 1913 the membership grew to 32. At the last-named election the Liberals secured 44 seats, Radicals 31, and the Conservatives only 7. The Socialists obtained the largest vote of any party, 107,000, whilst the Liberals had 102,850, Conservatives 85,000, and Radicals 67,300. The king invited M. Stauning, leader of the Social Democrats, to form a ministry, but he declined, as his party had not

an absolute majority, and agreed to support the Radical leader, who is pledged to reform the franchise. This is not a new departure. In Denmark there is no second ballot, and the Socialists have previously co-operated officially with the Radicals both at the polls and in Parliament, when the latter were in power. During the last few years the franchise has been the chief political question, and the result of the election of 1913 will probably be to force the upper chamber to pass the Electoral Reform Bill.

Socialists have great power on local councils, and 1060 in all hold seats. In Copenhagen in 1912 the Socialist vote was 50,473 out of 103,040, and they held 21 out of 48 seats in the council and 3 seats out of 9 in the 'Magistracy' or upper chamber, and they have elected a Socialist mayor. They have 33 daily papers with a total circulation of 170,000 copies.

Denmark is in the main an agricultural country, and it is clear that the Socialist party must have succeeded in the difficult task of working out a Socialist policy which commends itself to agriculturists. Agricultural co-operation, the co-operation of small individual producers for specific purposes, has here attained its greatest development, and the policy of the Government in promoting this co-operation and assisting agriculture as the chief industry of the country, has been supported by the party, which, moreover, has itself formed Co-operative Societies on Belgian lines.

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland is a sort of international province rather than a nation. Its various nationalities, its federal government, the absence of an effective party system, the presence of the Referendum and Initiative, and the fact that it can hardly be said to require a foreign policy, all render it an anomaly amongst European countries.

The Social Democratic Party was founded in 1888, and now has 1630 branches and about 45,000 members. There are 17 Socialists in the National Assembly (189 members), a gain of 10 seats since 1910. In 1912, out of 2907 Cantonal deputies, 218 were Socialists. In Zurich, at the elections of 1913, the Socialists secured 49 seats, the Liberals 50, and the Democrats 26. As might be expected, Socialism is unevenly distributed. In industrial towns it is strong: in some Cantons it barely exists.

Other nations must be treated with greater brevity.

In Norway in 1894 the Socialist votes cast amounted to 732. In 1903, 4 members were elected with 24,526 votes, in 1909, 11 members with 91,268 votes; in 1912, 23 with 124,594 votes; or 26 per cent of the whole. The Chamber, which is 'single,' contains also 25 Conservatives and 75 Radicals. There are 8 daily papers and 18 weeklies. The Labour Party was founded in 1887, and had, in 1912, 891 branches and 43,500 members.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party was formed in 1880, and was joined by the Trade Unions as a body in 1885. H. Branting, now the Parliamentary leader, was until 1902 the only Socialist in the Lower Chamber. In that year the Socialist vote was 8751; in 1911 it was 172,980, when 64 members were elected in the Lower House of 230 members; and 13 in the Upper of 130. In the same election the Conservative vote was 188,247, and the Liberal 242,127. The Socialist Party declined to form a coalition Government with the Liberals, but they give a general support to the Government. In local government the party is less powerful, as the suffrage is proportionate to property. The party has 57,721 members. The Trade Unionists numbered 184,145 in 1908, and as a result of the General Strike described elsewhere, only 82,530 in 1911.

In Spain Socialism has not yet made much progress. Senor Iglesais, the veteran leader of the party, and president of the General Workers' Union, was elected in 1910, and is the first and only Socialist in the Cortes.

The party works in alliance with the Republicans, who are said to be Socialist in opinions though not in name.

In Spain, unlike Italy, Socialism is mainly working class, and its chief strength comes from the Trade Unionists, who are mainly Socialist, though there is a syndicalist section. The party organisation has about 40,000 members, and there are 150,000 Trade Unionists.

Portugal, too, has but one Socialist in its Parliament. The party was formed in 1875 and has 2500 members.

There is one Socialist daily paper. The party cordially approved the Republican revolution of 1910.

In the Balkan States the Socialists took up an attitude of protest against the war of 1912-13, and naturally incurred the hostility of the Government, and of the people generally. At the time of writing the war is only just concluded and its effect on the parties cannot be reported.

In Bulgaria there are two sections, called the 'Broad' and the 'Narrow.' Before the split, 12 years ago, 7 Socialists had been elected to the Sobranje, and in 1911 6 (5 'Broad' and 1 'Narrow') were returned to the 'Grand Sobranje,' elected for the revision of the constitution. This is double the size of the regular parliament, and at the election of the regular assembly later in the year none was successful. But in June 1912 one was returned at a by-election. The Socialist vote in 1911 was 25,565 out of 490,568.

In the Servian Skupstchina of 166 deputies, two Socialists were elected in 1912. The party polled 25,000 votes in 6 out of 17 districts.

The Greek Labour League was formed by Dr. Platon Drakoulis in 1909, and the Socialist Party, founded in 1911, is closely allied to it. Dr. Drakoulis, who first preached Socialism in 1885, has been in Parliament, but was defeated in 1912. It seems that there is a good deal of unorganised Socialism, and the present king is believed to be sympathetic.

Japan has but little in common with its old enemy Russia, but one characteristic now belongs to these two

nations alone: in Japan the holding of Socialist opinions is virtually persecuted as it has been persecuted for decades in Russia. Professor Sen Katayama began to teach Socialism and Trade Unionism in 1897. In 1901 a Social Democratic Party was formed in Tokio and was promptly dissolved by the police. Several Socialist newspapers were started, but they were suppressed and their editors imprisoned. In 1906 another attempt at organisation was made, but the Socialists assisted in a strike against the Tokio tram fares, and a dozen of them were imprisoned and their society broken up. In January 1911 Dr. Kotoku, a scientist of international repute, together with his wife and 10 companions, were executed after a secret trial on the charge of having conspired to assassinate the Emperor. Dr. Kotoku was admittedly a Tolstoyan Anarchist, and it is believed that there was an actual bomb, but in view of the attitude of the Government towards Socialism and the circumstances of the trial, no evidence was forthcoming satisfactory to the European public that even the high ideal of loyalty prevalent in Japan justified such savage and wholesale punishments. The whole episode appears to be a blot on the fair fame of Japanese civilisation, which must be regretted by the many admirers of that interesting nation.

Trade Unionism, like Socialism, is repressed in Japan, and altogether in respect of economic progress the rulers of the country show far less intelligence than might be expected in view of their extraordinary sagacity in other directions.

In the Argentine Republic the party was formed in 1898, and at the election of 1912 two members were returned for Buenos Ayres. The Socialist vote was 18,844. The 50,000 Trade Unionists are about equally divided between Anarchism and Socialism. Legislation against Anarchism is severe and is used for other purposes.

Newborn nations begin at the point which elderly nations have reached : ideas are international : and the would-be revolutionist from Turkey or Persia or China, coming to Europe or America in order to study, naturally assimilates the ideas not of the local Whigs and Tories, but of Socialists and even Syndicalists. Therefore we find a Socialist party in the countries which have just stepped out of mediævalism.

In China Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the inspirer of the revolution who shared at first with Yuan Shi Kai the control of the nation, predicted in March 1912 that ' the Chinese Government would be the most Socialistic government of the century.' Amidst the chaos of the country Socialism is forbidden, and Socialist societies are dissolved in some provinces. The party was organised in 1912 at a congress at Nankin attended by 3000 persons, where was started a Socialist daily, the *Chinese Republican*, edited by Dr. Sun Yat Sen's private secretary, and published in Shanghai ; one Socialist was elected to the assembly, and it is stated that 20 members have formed a Socialist group. But China requires many elementary political necessities before it can undertake constructive Socialism.

Persia, too, has its Socialist party, represented by one member of the Meljiss or Parliament. The Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Persia addressed an appeal to the International Socialist Bureau in September 1911.

Turkey had a Socialist movement before the war. There was a Labour Socialist Federation at Salonika, an Armenian Federation, and a Union of Socialist Students of Constantinople, and in the Turkish Parliament of 1908 there were 6 Socialist deputies.

It would be possible to complete the list with details of the Socialist organisations in Chili and Luxemburg, in Uruguay and Roumania, from the publications of the International Bureau, or other sources, and doubtless some sort of organisation could be discovered in Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and other obscurer nations of Central and South America. Only in Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and perhaps Hayti is it still possible to escape wholly from the all-pervading influence of this world-wide movement.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MODERN INTERNATIONAL

No manifestation of Socialist activity is so significant as the recent developments of the new International. In a previous chapter we have seen that Congresses were held at Paris in 1889, at Brussels in 1891, at Zurich in 1893, and at London in 1896. These were followed by Congresses at Paris for a second time in 1900, at Amsterdam in 1904, and at Stuttgart in 1907 and Copenhagen in 1910.

The disorders which prevailed at the Congresses of Brussels and London led to the adoption of measures for the better ordering of business and for the better organisation of the Congresses, 'destined to become the parliament of the proletariat.' We shall now give a brief statement of the new measures, which date in a general way from the Paris Congress of 1900.

All associations are admitted which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: socialisation of the means of production and exchange; international union and action of the workers; Socialist conquest of political power by the proletariat organised as a class party; also all the trade organisations which place themselves on

the basis of the class struggle and recognise the necessity of political action, legislative and parliamentary. Anarchists are therefore excluded.

At former Congresses much time was spent in hearing verbal reports—in French, English, and German—of the progress of Socialism in the various countries. The Bureau now invites and receives from the various national bodies reports which are printed and laid before the Congress. These reports form a most valuable storehouse of information with regard to the development of Socialism throughout the world.

The result of those measures was manifest at the Stuttgart Congress, where the business proceeded with despatch and in comparative order. Delegates to the number of 886 were assembled from twenty-six nationalities, and discussed matters of importance relating to the international social movement. The revival of the International was an accomplished fact. But it was a revival in a new form and under conditions which had undergone a marvellous change. The old International had been compared by Vandervelde to a brilliant general staff without an army. In many countries the Socialist movement had hardly begun; in no country had it attained to any real strength. Now Socialism had powerful and well-organised parties in most of the leading countries of Europe, and it counted its adherents by millions.

The method of voting at the Congress was reformed. Up to 1907 every nation had two votes, and consequently the handful of delegates representing Australia,

Servia, Greece, and other countries internationally unimportant or non-existent, and speaking in some cases on behalf of groups of agitators with no political standing, could easily outvote the Germans, French, and English with their millions of supporters and long experience of political responsibility. At the Stuttgart Congress a new system was adopted for future Congresses: the votes were allocated to each nation according to its importance—Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Russia having 20 votes each, Italy 15, and so on through the scale, most of the smaller nationalities receiving 4 and Luxemburg 2. This reform gives much greater reality to the decisions of the Congress.

The Copenhagen Congress of 1910 was attended by 896 delegates representing 23 nationalities, in numbers varying from 189 Germans to 1 delegate from the Argentine. It was divided into five Commissions which discussed—(1) the Relations between Co-operation and Socialism, (2) Trade Unions, (3) International Arbitration and Disarmament, (4) Legislation on Unemployment (5) General Resolutions. On the first subject the Congress recorded its cordial approval of Consumers' Co-operation, and urged that Trade Union wages should be paid, funds allocated to education, and friendly relations established between Co-operators, Trade Unionists, and Socialists. The Congress approved of Trade Unions, and deprecated racial divisions amongst Trade Unionists. It demanded State provision for the relief of unemployment by means, *inter alia*, of insurance, and public works in times of crisis. Other resolutions called for

the abolition of capital punishment, and Socialist Unity in all countries. International Arbitration and general disarmament were approved, but an amendment by Keir Hardie and Vaillant advocating a general strike in order to prevent war was rejected by 131 nationality votes to 51, and was referred to the Bureau for a report to be presented to the next Congress. Other resolutions dealt with the political situation in Turkey, Finland, Persia, Morocco, and other countries, with Labour Legislation (the Eight-Hours Day, Child Labour, Truck, Factory Inspection, etc.), and International Solidarity.

A Women's Socialist Conference is held just before the assembly of the Congress, and in connection with this there is an organisation of Women Socialists in England and in other countries.

In November 1912 a Special Congress was hurriedly called together at Basle to protest against the participation, which then appeared imminent, of the Great Powers in the Balkan War. At a few weeks' notice 555 delegates, including 13 from Great Britain, assembled in the Town Hall, and on Sunday, November 24th, held a great demonstration in the Cathedral and in the square outside. There was no difference of opinion and the Congress was virtually confined to one day. The resolution unanimously adopted, called on the working classes to pit the international solidarity of the workers against the might of the capitalist imperialism: it demanded protests in every parliament, and the use of all possible means to prevent the outbreak of war. It is of course impossible to calculate the effect of this imposing

demonstration in favour of peace, but in fact war did not break out, and the foreign offices of the Powers succeeded in avoiding the international disaster which then seemed almost inevitable.

The permanent office of these Congresses is the International Socialist Bureau, which within the last few years has assumed a steadily growing importance. From the offices in the *Maison du Peuple* at Brussels a steady stream of circulars and documents is issued by the indefatigable secretary, M. Camille Huysmans. Appeals for funds to assist any strike of international import, or any labour movement in out-of-the-way countries where labour is ill-organised, and authority oppressive, are despatched almost weekly to every affiliated organisation. From Russia, Portugal, and the Balkans, where wars or revolutions are in progress, come appeals to the workmen of the world, which are issued through the agency of the Bureau. Every few months the Bureau meets: that is to say, delegates from the affiliated nationalities assemble at Brussels to discuss international problems; they protest, in the name of the working classes, against any threatened outbreaks of war, and denounce outrages against Socialists or Trade Unionists, such as are constantly taking place in Eastern and Southern Europe and in the United States. Much of their business is the arrangements for the International Congresses, and such changes of plan as that which led the Congress, normally due in 1913, to be deferred to 1914, and to the special Peace Congress of 1912. In every country there is a local organisation

connected with the Bureau. International Socialism works on a theory of nationalism unknown to geographers or Foreign Offices. Bohemia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Finland, Poland, Lettonia, Canada, and Australasia, rank as nationalities, as well as the nations in the ordinary acceptation of the term. The working expenses are provided by the various nationalities. In some cases more than one Socialist party is directly and separately affiliated. In others, England, for example, there is a National Committee specially constituted for Bureau purposes. The British Committee has its headquarters at the offices of the Labour Party, and its secretary is the secretary of the Labour Party, Arthur Henderson, M.P. The British Party has 20 Congress votes, and these are allocated 10 to the Labour Party, 4 to the Independant Labour Party, 4 to the British Socialist Party, and 2 to the Fabian Society. The contribution to the British section is fixed in proportion to voting power at the rate of £5 per vote per annum. The British Committee meets every few months to instruct its delegates to Brussels, and occasionally to communicate with its affiliated organisations. Where, as in Germany, there is but one Socialist party for all purposes, no such arrangement is necessary.

The Bureau at Brussels is gradually creating a complex organisation, valuable for many purposes. It publishes a *Bulletin Periodique* in three languages—French, German, and English, the three languages recognised for international purposes. The issue de-

scribing the Basle Congress of November 1912 is No. 10 of the fourth year. It consists of ninety pages folio printed in three columns, part of it in French alone, and part in all three languages. It contains a chronicle of Socialist doings and happenings in all lands during the year 1912, a Parliamentary Report in connection with the Inter-parliamentary Commission, that is, a subsidiary organisation consisting of delegates representing the members of Parliament of the various countries, a list of the names and addresses of the delegates to the Bureau, of the secretaries of affiliated parties, and parties not affiliated, and finally a very long classified list of books and documents sent to the Bureau during the year.

In England we are so accustomed to managing our own affairs, and so insular, perhaps so properly insular, in our political outlook, that the International Bureau is to us an organisation which we think we ought to support, rather than a body whose dicta really weigh with us. We can hardly imagine our political leaders asking the opinion of the Bureau whether they should accept an offer of seats in the cabinet. Yet this step was taken by the Dutch Socialist leader when invited to join the Liberal Cabinet in July 1913 after the general election which gave a majority to the Socialists and Liberals who had been hitherto in opposition.

But even in England the Bureau has some influence. In July 1913 the president, M. Vandervelde, and M. Huysmans, the secretary, came to London and met

representatives of the Independent Labour Party, the British Socialist Party, and the Fabian Society for the purpose of promoting Socialist unity ; the Bureau had already succeeded in uniting the various societies in France, and desired to do the same here. It adopted the view of the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society that unity was impossible so long as the British Socialist Party remained outside the Labour Party, and it approved of the resolutions unanimously adopted by the delegates present, proposing the formation of a United Socialist Council, subject to the condition that the British Socialist Party join the Labour Party. What may be the outcome of this conference cannot at the time of writing be stated.

A long series of resolutions have been passed by the various Congresses which have met since 1889. If we take those resolutions along with the elaborate programmes which have been formulated by the various national parties, and of which the Erfurt programme may be regarded as the type, we have a set of documents which may undoubtedly be considered official and authoritative. Both resolutions and programmes are the result of a long labour of thought and debate by the best minds. They agree generally in their exposition of principles and tactics. They represent therefore what the Socialists of the world put forward as their opinions, but it must always be remembered that such resolutions express rather what the parties have been accustomed to think in the past than what they are actually thinking at the time. We give an abstract of

the most important points on which Socialists of all lands agree:—

(1) The goal of the whole movement is an economic revolution or transformation — the transference to society of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

(2) The conquest of political power by the organised action of the working class of all lands is the chief means towards this great end.

(3) The great task of the Socialist parties at present is education, agitation, and organisation in the widest sense, with a view to the physical and moral regeneration of the working class, so as to fit it for its great mission. To rouse the class consciousness of the workers, to increase their capacity and efficiency for the class struggle, is the daily task of international Socialism.

(4) The struggle for equal and direct universal suffrage, and especially for votes for women as well as for the initiative and referendum, is an important phase of the political struggle, and is fitted to have a good influence on the political education of the workers.

(5) The more purely political struggle of the Socialist parties should go hand in hand with the more purely economic struggle of the Trade Unions, and the closest relations should be maintained between the two movements.

(6) The right of association, of combination, of free meeting, of free speech, and of a free press, is an essential part of the worker's claim of rights.

(7) The demonstration of the 1st of May has been

specially recommended in all countries as a means of securing an eight-hours working day. The eight-hours day is most desirable for improving the family life, the education, the health, energy, intelligence, and morality of the working class.

(8) But the eight-hours day is only the most urgent part of a large system of protective legislation in favour of the working class. Besides an eight-hours day for adults, they demand special legislation for children, young people, and women; proper rest for all ages; restriction of night work; abolition of the sweating system; effective inspection of factories, shops, and of domestic labour, as well as of agriculture.

(9) They are very strongly opposed to militarism, which they consider due not so much to national or political differences as to the struggle of the capitalist classes for new markets. They believe that war will end only with the ending of capitalism. The present standing armies are the instruments of the ruling and exploiting class, and should be abolished. Their place should be taken by a citizen army or the armed nation; that is, the entire able-bodied manhood of the people should be trained and equipped on a democratic basis, like the Swiss army. The Socialist parties of the various countries are recommended to vote against expenditure for every existing army and navy.

(10) The majority at Congresses has without reserve condemned the system of establishing colonies in the tropics as merely an extension of the field of exploitation of the capitalist class. This does not refer to the colonial

system of England, in so far as it consists in the development of self-governing communities; and the Congresses have perhaps hardly appreciated the value to India of the peace, order, and progress established there under English rule. The colonial system as understood by the majority simply means the exploitation of native and coloured races for the profit of the capitalist class. A large minority, while condemning the present colonial policy, think that it might be made beneficial.

The new International is a steadily growing force. It is no longer a revolutionary conspiracy. It is an association of parliamentary leaders, of officials managing great popular organisations, of men whose words carry weight in their own countries, and sometimes throughout the world. It is developing every year, and it is far from improbable that in times to come the International Socialist Congresses and the Bureau will develop into a great co-ordinating force for international relations, and that it may give birth to that federation of the world of which so many poets and philosophers have dreamt, and in which civilisation, if it is to continue, must culminate.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM

IN an earlier chapter the Socialism of Owen has been described, and the Christian Socialist movement of the middle of last century briefly sketched. Maurice, Kingsley, and their school were socialist in sentiment and in their criticism of existing society, but they failed as completely as their predecessors in their efforts at reconstruction. Their remedy for the evils of capitalism was but a modification of the Utopian dream of Robert Owen. They attempted to reconcile capital and labour by turning the labourers into capitalists on a small scale. They founded Co-operative Productive Societies, to be financed out of the savings of industrial workmen, who would each contribute both capital and labour, and divide amongst themselves the whole of the product. They did not realise that this sort of Co-operation is a form of industrial organisation inferior commercially to that conducted with the abundant capital and specialised management of the ordinary business undertaking. And they were not aware that a co-operative company of this character, as soon as it is successful, ceases to retain its original form. The founders will not allow

new workmen to come in on the same terms as themselves: the shares pass into other hands, and the concern comes to differ only in details from the ordinary joint-stock company.

From these and other causes the Christian Socialist movement, never very thoroughly organised, came to an end, and for a decade or two Socialism could hardly be said to exist in England. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were living in London, but their influence was through their books which were in German, and the International of 1864 and onwards was revolutionary in a political rather than a social and economic sense. The group of men who gathered about Marx were largely foreigners, and the English workmen amongst them gave no indication that they realised the importance of his economic teaching. The disaster of the Paris Commune, as presented to the public by the journalists of the day, put an end to whatever lingering hold the earlier socialist agitators retained on the English people.

One man, however, rose superior to the dominant individualism and commercialism of his time, and he the most influential of then living English economists and thinkers, John Stuart Mill. Although his knowledge of Socialism was apparently confined to the Utopian writers of the French and English schools, he declared himself in complete sympathy with their objects, though naturally unable to believe that they were capable of realisation by the methods proposed.¹

¹ For a convenient summary of his views see Fabian Tract No. 168, 'John Stuart Mill,' by Julius West. 2d.

So impracticable did these ideas appear to the English public of the Gladstonian era that his pronouncements attracted no attention at the time and were quickly and completely forgotten. Mill was regarded as the typical exponent of individualism in politics and competition in economics, and this view of his teaching is current to the present time. It is usual nowadays to regard Mill as a second-rate thinker, and to wonder at his extraordinary influence over his contemporaries, but in this matter at any rate he showed insight and intelligence far in advance of any other English writer of his time.

Mill died in 1873, and for nine years the very name of Socialism appeared to have perished in the land of its origin; for the little group around Marx in his London home was an outpost of the Continent rather than a part of English life or thought.

The English Socialism which was born again in the early 'eighties merits a somewhat careful study, partly because it is of special interest and concern to English readers and partly because it has escaped that domination by the massive personality of Karl Marx which has moulded into one pattern the Socialist thought of most other countries. In England the effort to escape the tyranny of the written word of the founder of modern Socialism was coeval with the origin of the movement, was immediately effective, and before many years successful. In Germany it began only recently as the Revisionist movement, and the contest is as yet undecided though the result is not a matter of doubt. Elsewhere,

as has been indicated in the foregoing pages, the free development of the ideas of Socialism is still hampered by unthinking loyalty to the text of the Socialist bible.

English Socialists were saved from the fetters of Marxism by the compound origin of the new movement. Marxian Socialism was introduced by the Social Democratic Federation, as we shall shortly explain, but contemporaneously came the foundation of the Fabian Society, which drew its Socialism from several sources, never fell under the spell of the Marxian formulæ, and very early in its career began an active protest against whatever Marxian doctrines its members could not accept. That protest broke the spell. There were Socialists who dared to disagree with Marx, and challenged his right as a dictator of Socialist thought. Hence, when the Independent Labour Party was formed a few years later, the Socialism it advocated was free from any doctrinaire standard of orthodoxy, and it is this Socialism which forms the main stream in England to-day.

The movement, as we have said, had two sources in England. One of these began in 1881 when the Democratic Federation was founded by Mr. H. M. Hyndman. It was intended to be, as its name implies, a federation of London Radical Clubs for the promotion of radical measures such as the abolition of the House of Lords, and of Land Nationalisation. This federal plan was never in fact realised. Its leading members were not exclusively Socialists, and included William Morris, Belfort Bax, Herbert Burrows, Dr. Edward Aveling, and

Helen Taylor, the step-daughter and literary executor of John Stuart Mill. Mr. Hyndman published his *Historic Basis of Socialism* in 1883, and this introduced the ideas of Marx to the English-speaking world. The Federation soon became openly Socialist, and in August 1884 it changed its name to the Social Democratic Federation, which it retained until 1908 when it substituted 'Party' for 'Federation.' *Justice*, the organ of the Federation, and recently of the British Socialist Party, was founded as a weekly paper in January 1884.

Marx himself died in 1883 before the new movement was well on foot, and it was in this year also, some six months after his death, that with the Fabian Society the English Socialist movement began to take shape.

It was a combination of a variety of intellectual forces, of which Marx was only one. Perhaps the strongest was Henry George. His great book, *Progress and Poverty*, was published in the United States in 1880 and soon began to attract attention in England. George did not teach Socialism: indeed his most devout followers have been and are doctrinaire individualists, convinced that the play of economic forces in a state of competition would remove poverty and cure all other social ills our present state is heir to, if only the rent of land—his modern disciples add the capital value of land—were transferred to the community. George himself, like so many other great men, was not at all times a fanatic Georgite: his opinions wavered: his followers were both Socialists and Individualists: whatever view may be taken of his ideas about land, the great conception

he contributed to the thought of the 'eighties was that poverty was an evil preventable by State action. That was a criticism, and a damning criticism, of the economic doctrines then current, not perhaps amongst the economists themselves, but amongst politicians and social reformers. They held that poverty was caused by weakness of character, by indulgence in drink, by inefficiency, idleness, and want of thrift. The State, they thought, could not beneficially interfere except in certain well-accustomed ways. It might teach morality in churches, provide a modicum of education, protect women and children by Factory Acts, and keep alive with a minimum of comfort those whom want of character had prevented from saving sufficient to provide a competency for old age or an income for their families in cases of untimely sickness or death.

Against this philosophy, comfortable enough for the possessing classes if they could persuade themselves to regard the sufferings of others with equanimity, *Progress and Poverty* burst like a bombshell. Poverty, said Henry George, was directly and solely caused by defective arrangements of Society. The New Testament might be quoted, and the Prayer-Book misquoted, to support the *status quo*, but the Old Testament regulations as to land holdings were in flat contradiction to our present system, and they purported to claim a divine origin. It was Henry George, rather than Karl Marx, who brought to Socialism many of the founders of English Socialism. But they did not make the mistake of turning George into a prophet. They selected from

his ideas, as they selected from those of Marx, only what they deemed valuable.

There were other influences besides George. There was a small Christian Socialist Movement, a revival of that of thirty years before, founded by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam and others, which adopted the name of their predecessors, and took as a constructive policy Land Reform instead of Co-operative Production. It existed to publish a monthly called the *Christian Socialist*, which lasted from 1883 to 1891.

Another intellectual influence which made for fundamental and constructive revolution was Positivism, at that time professed by a little group of exceptionally brilliant men, who had given valuable assistance to the working-class leaders in their struggle for the legalisation of Trade Unionism. Convinced positivists were opposed to Socialism, but all young men of that period who were interested in progressive thought studied the works of Comte, and learnt from them the idea of a complete reconstruction of the social system. Positivism was then a growing creed, and it was the rise of Socialism in England which put a sudden end to its expansion.

Ruskin, too, with his criticism of the current economic doctrine, doubtless prepared the minds of some for acceptance of the new ideas, but not, perhaps, to any great extent. The propaganda of the Democratic Federation attracted others; but the teacher who brought together those who founded the Fabian Society was a man of very different type, Thomas Davidson, a

Scotsman living in New York, a brilliant talker, and a metaphysician of some eminence.¹ In the autumn of 1883 he addressed small gatherings in London, at which he put forward a plan of founding a community to live a higher life, the 'Vita Nuova,' as he termed it. When he left it was decided to continue the meetings; the Utopian ideas were quickly discarded, though a minority established the Fellowship of the New Life to carry on his teaching, and published for some years a quarterly called *Seedtime*. The majority decided to reform Society rather than themselves, and on January 4th 1884, adopted a name, the Fabian Society, at the suggestion of Frank Podmore, in later years widely known as the biographer of Robert Owen, and a writer on Psychical Research. The Society composed for itself a motto:

For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain, and fruitless,

which is bad history, but remarkable as indicating a want of self-confidence unusual amongst young people. They resolved to learn before they began to teach. Of the founders of the Society, Hubert Bland, his wife the well-known author, 'E. Nesbit,' and the present writer are amongst the few still living. But in its earliest days a remarkable group of men, then quite unknown, joined the little body. Bernard Shaw was the first, and he

¹ See *Memorials of Thomas Davidson, the Wandering Scholar*. Ed. W. Knight. Fisher Unwin, 1907.

was quickly followed by Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, Sydney Olivier, then a Colonial Office clerk, now Sir Sydney Olivier, the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, William Clarke, subsequently well known as a journalist and lecturer,¹ and later Mrs. Annie Besant, already notorious rather than famous, as a colleague of Charles Bradlaugh in the Free Thought and Malthusian movement. Her brilliant oratory added greatly to the effectiveness of the Society, until she left Socialism for Theosophy in 1890.

Marx's *Capital* at that time was accessible only in French and German; the early Fabians began a systematic study of the book and found that they were not in agreement with his law of value, which at that time was regarded by English Social Democrats as virtually the sole basis of Socialism. Nor did they accept the revolutionary method which was then considered as indispensable. Revolution in the 'eighties meant to Socialists barricades in the streets, and Socialism inaugurated by violence and bloodshed. Other significations are now attached to the word, but although this view was contrary to the express opinion of Marx, his English followers in those days scorned anybody who suggested that Socialism could be inaugurated by any other instruments than firearms.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Fabian Society at this period had any public influence. The

¹ See *William Clarke: a Collection of his Writings*. Sonnenschein, 1907.

Fabians were busy educating themselves, and their time had not yet arrived.

With the Social Democratic Federation it was another matter. It was started by men of mature age. Mr. H. M. Hyndman, as he has recently explained in his autobiography,¹ was a man of some influence and means, an effective journalist, a good public speaker, with plenty of self-confidence and knowledge of the world. But what gave the Socialist movement its consequence in the public estimation was the adhesion of William Morris. This remarkable man already possessed all that fame could give. He had revolutionised English domestic art, and his name was a household word in every family that pretended to any sort of culture. As a poet he stood second only to Tennyson; he was known to be wealthy; and a wide circle of friends respected his sterling character and recognised the charm of his singularly attractive personality. Perhaps no Englishman of his generation has possessed more of the virtues, fewer of the faults, of genius. Morris was not a born agitator: he was by no means a fluent speaker; he had no ability for politics, and indeed temperamentally he was an Anarchist. But he was tremendously in earnest, and for years his pen and his purse, and his splendid energy, were all at the disposal of the new movement.

Moreover, he brought to Socialism a new range of ideas. He surveyed society as an artist and found

¹ See *The Record of an Adventurous Life*. By Henry Mayers Hyndman. Macmillan, 1911.

commercialism lamentably wanting. The advent of capitalism coincided with the introduction of machinery, and to the artist machine-made ornament is anathema. Morris was a mediævalist, and would have liked to turn back the clock to the days of John Ball.¹ As this was impossible he dreamed of and worked for a social revolution which should abolish the slavery of men to machines, toiling for long hours and miserable pay at mechanical tasks in hideous and unwholesome surroundings; he himself was a tireless worker and loved work above all else. But it was work in which he found joy; it was artistic work, and he believed that all work could and should be such that the worker can express himself in it, and can enjoy the doing of it. He abhorred machines, and he refused to face the fact that machinery has come to stay, and that when it lightens the toil of the worker as well as adding to the wealth of the community, especially the rich, its application to every department of industry will be universally welcomed. From Morris and his friend Walter Crane came the curious and not altogether helpful association of English Socialism with the petty handicrafts: a sentimental idealisation of hand labour which occasionally went to the length of attempts to revive the spinning wheel and the handloom, and the notion that there was some social virtue in hammered copper and hand-wrought ironwork.

Under the guidance of H. M. Hyndman, William Morris, Belfort Bax, H. H. Champion, the latter an

¹ *The Dream of John Ball*. 1888.

artillery officer who had left the army on account of the Egyptian War of 1881, the Social Democratic Federation quickly made a tremendous impression. Everybody, friends and foes alike, at that period, took the view that the proclamation of doctrines, apparently so attractive to the 'lower classes,' would assuredly attract them. At the election of 1885 three Social Democratic candidates were put up at Hampstead, Kennington, and Nottingham, and it was widely believed that the working classes would vote for them in thousands. John Burns, an engineer who had become the finest open-air speaker of the day, polled 598 votes at Nottingham, but in London the Socialists received only 27 and 32 votes, and the bubble was pricked.

For the first time the lesson was given which enthusiasts, happily, learn so slowly, that, for good or for evil, the mass of the English people is solidly conservative, and far more difficult to convert to new ideas than their political leaders, whether Tory, Liberal, or Labour.

The Radical workmen were alienated by a political error of the Social Democrats. A sum of money for election expenses was offered and accepted from an unavowed source which was universally believed to be the Tory party. Moreover, the movement had suffered from a split, the result of a quarrel partly personal and partly on matters of principle. Early in 1885 William Morris, with Belfort Bax and Edward Aveling, the son-in-law of Marx, formed the Socialist League, and started a new paper, the *Commonweal*, in which

some of Morris's books were first published. The League gradually developed leanings towards Anarchism, which finally destroyed it, and it lost all influence when Morris left it in November 1890.

Meanwhile Socialism was spreading in little groups all over the country. The two leading organisations did not usually display that hostility towards each other which has characterised the internal disputes of Socialists in some countries: the League and the Federation had scores of branches in the industrial districts, and in London for some years collisions with the police over the right of speech at street corners were frequent. In 1886 Hyndman, Champion, and Burns were prosecuted for making seditious speeches in Trafalgar Square, which were followed by a riot, and, to the astonishment of all concerned, were acquitted. It must be recollected that the Socialism of that period—apart from the still obscure Fabian Society—frankly advocated violent revolution.

On November 13th, 1887, a Trafalgar Square meeting was broken up, and John Burns was imprisoned for obstructing the police.

In 1889 came the Dockers' Strike, of which Burns, Tom Mann, Ben Tillet, and H. H. Champion were the leaders, and in which many other Socialists took an active part. The success of the strike opened a new chapter in the history of Trade Unionism. From this time onwards John Burns left the Social Democratic Federation, became a London County Councillor in 1889, M.P. for Battersea in 1892, and President of

the Local Government Board at the constitution of the Liberal ministry of 1905.

The Fabian Society during these years was beginning to make itself felt. Its leaders were the best debaters in London, and it was developing its policy. Under the influence of Sidney Webb it began to study facts. Its fifth Tract, 'Facts for Socialists,' an estimate of the manual workers' share of the national income, published in 1887, has been easily the most famous English Socialist tract, and in its eleventh revised edition still sells largely. There was no novelty in collecting facts for destructive criticism of the capitalist system. The novelty came with 'Facts for Londoners' (1889), an elaborate statistical analysis of London institutions, with proposals for amending them. That marked a transition of thought. Socialism was not to be a scheme introduced on the morrow of the revolution, and built up on a social site cleared by the destruction of the institutions of Capitalism. Other Socialists divided their 'objects' from their 'immediate programme' of 'palliatives.' The Fabians never made the distinction. The revolution, they said, would be continuous and would never have a morrow. It had a future, but it had also a past. Municipal Water and Gas Works were means of production collectively owned; so was the Post Office, and abroad the Railways. Collective ownership existed already, and what we wanted was more of it. The State is local as well as central: the London County Council could municipalise its tramways without a revolution.

Another circumstance helped the Fabians. To the ordinary citizen, and especially to the workman, the Government is a thing apart, a great machine of which he knows little and over which he has no control, except as an elector, and then only, so to speak, by force. The Fabians were many of them in Government service as first division clerks. The Society itself, at this period, had its only headquarters at a table in a Downing Street Office. To Government clerks at Whitehall, even the juniors, Government is a delicate machine whose working they have to control. They draft the despatches which ultimately determine policy in remote dependencies or in post offices and custom houses throughout the country. They prepare the information for ministerial speeches, and make the first outlines of new legislation. To men in such service many ways of influencing political action are apparent which the outsider cannot realise. The country is not so much governed by the votes of the electors, as by the ideas put into the heads of official persons whether parliamentary chiefs or permanent civil servants. What is true of government is equally true of outside organisations. The policy of a political association is determined—within limits—by the man who drafts its resolutions and reports. Know more than other people, know what you want, and you can make other people carry out your ideas. It is easier to get control over existing machinery than to make machinery for yourself. Finally the Fabians had quickly learnt that the working classes were not going

to rush into Socialism in their thousands and tens of thousands. They regarded the task of creating a new political party out of individual adherents to a society as in England beyond the strength of the forces at their disposal. And in this forecast they proved correct. No English Socialist Society has yet obtained a regular membership of 50,000, and the probability of success along this line is more remote than ever.

Hence arose the policy of permeation: the Fabians were conscious of the force of their ideas, and were confident that they could so present them that other people would adopt them half unconsciously.

Mostly Londoners, they first succeeded in forming the policy of the Progressive Party which obtained power at the first London County Council election of 1889, and which maintained its majority until 1906. London, in imperial politics usually Conservative, elected and re-elected a County Council party which set itself to use its powers for the benefit of the working classes. It municipalised its monopolies; it gave Trade Union wages to its employees, and insisted on them in its contracts; it inaugurated through its Technical Education Board (of which Sidney Webb held the chairmanship from its constitution in 1893 till 1898, and again in 1902) the best system of education in the country. All this was largely due to the inspiration of the Fabians, both inside and outside the Council.

In 1889 the Society began to acquire a national reputation. In that year *Fabian Essays in Socialism*,

a series of lectures by the leading members mentioned on previous pages, was published, and at once obtained an extraordinary success. It was a presentation of Socialism from the English standpoint. It avoided the strange phraseology of Marxism, was frankly evolutionary, and was written by people, all of whom have since attained some eminence as men of letters. It was followed in 1890 by a number of Lecture Campaigns intended to bring Fabianism, hitherto unknown outside London, into the industrial districts. These courses of lectures, delivered to Radical Clubs, Co-operative Societies, and any group or organisation that would take them, led to the formation of Local Fabian Societies in every important town in the United Kingdom.

But the local societies, mainly working class in membership, were unable to make use of the methods of the parent body, and they disappeared almost as rapidly as they had sprung up when the Independent Labour Party was formed in 1893.

The idea on which this society was based was not new to the Socialist movement. H. H. Champion was amongst the many who were dissatisfied with the narrowness of the Social Democrats, and had published some years before a weekly called the *Labour Elector*, which had not made much impression.

What was wanted was a Socialist party, Fabian in its disregard of Marxian dogma, in its willingness to work with Trade Unions, in its complete toleration of Christianity, and its acceptance of political methods;

and at the same time distinct from the Fabian Society in its adoption of complete political independence.

To Keir Hardie, far more than any other man, is due the credit of the new departure. He was Secretary of the Ayrshire Miners, and in 1892 was elected to Parliament for South-West Ham on independent lines. The Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) was formed at a Conference at Bradford in 1893, and was at first intended, as its name implies, to be Labour rather than purely Socialist. But this stage lasted only a short time: the new body rapidly absorbed the provincial Fabian movement and quickly became a powerful organisation especially in Yorkshire, and subsequently throughout the manufacturing districts. In London for many years it was relatively weak.

The great work of the I.L.P. was the conversion of the leaders of Trade Unionism. All over the country the ablest younger men in the Trade Union branches joined its ranks, and they were everywhere elected branch officials, branch delegates, and presently the national officials of their unions. The mass of the people was still outside the movement, but in every town and industrial village the men who were beginning to make themselves felt were members of the I.L.P. Socialism was discussed at Trade Union Congresses every year, and ultimately resolutions were passed in its favour.

Keir Hardie lost his seat in 1895, and the I.L.P., though frequently fighting elections, was always unsuccessful.

At about the same period another movement began. Robert Blatchford and a group of Manchester journalists established the *Clarion* newspaper in London in 1891, and in 1893 he published *Merrie England*, a propagandist book of which a million copies were sold. The *Clarion* was independent of party—though Mr. Blatchford was one of the founders of the I.L.P.—and around it sprang up a miscellaneous organisation of cycle-clubs, and other semi-social semi-political bodies. Perhaps its most valuable contribution to the movement was ‘high spirits.’ The *Clarion* found much to enjoy in life, notwithstanding the poverty and oppression of the workers; its boisterous good-humour was helpful because social reconstruction can only be wisely planned by those who see things from all sides, and the fanatical Socialist who looks only at the gloomy aspects of society is misled into exaggerating the discontent of the workers and their desire for immediate and drastic change.

During the next few years Socialism made steady progress. The I.L.P., temperamentally suited to the English workmen, became constantly more influential, whilst the Social Democratic Federation gradually lost its position as the popular Socialist body. The Fabian Society maintained its activity as a lecturing and publishing organisation, and attracted wide attention in 1893 by publishing in the *Fortnightly Review*, and subsequently reprinting as a tract, a denunciation of the Liberal Government for their failure to meet the just claims of the workmen in

Government employ, and calling on the Trade Unionists to form a Labour Party of their own.

THE LABOUR PARTY

The next event in the history of the English Socialism was the formation of the Labour Party. It was the logical outcome of the direct representation of labour which had been a marked feature of English politics since 1874, when Mr. Thomas Burt (now the Rt. Hon.) and Alexander Macdonald were elected as Trade Unionists. Since then there had been constantly a number of Trade Unionists in Parliament always sitting and voting as Liberals.

At the Trade Union Congress of 1899 a resolution was carried directing the Parliamentary Committee in co-operation with the Socialist Societies to call a conference in order 'to devise ways and means for securing an increased number of Labour Members in the next Parliament.' This Conference met in London in February 1900, and was attended by a number of M.P.'s, including John Burns, and by representatives of 545,316 Trade Unionists and 22,861 members of the three Socialist Societies. The result was the Labour Representation Committee, formed for the purpose of promoting the election of a Labour Group in Parliament. It was expressly laid down that the new body should be a group, united for Labour purposes, but otherwise not dissociated from existing parties. The members might sit as Liberals or Con-

servatives or Socialists: they were only pledged to act together on Labour questions. J. Ramsay MacDonald, who had made some reputation as a member first of the Fabian Society and later of the I.L.P., was elected secretary, and to his vigour, tact, and ability the Labour Party has from the first owed much of its success.

The general election of 1900 occurred a few months after the Committee was constituted, and of the fifteen candidates supported only two, J. Keir Hardie at Merthyr and Richard Bell at Derby, were successful. But at by-elections during the next few years the party had three remarkable successes. David Shackleton was returned for Clitheroe, Lancashire, unopposed: Will Crooks, with Liberal support, won a great victory at Woolwich, and Arthur Henderson defeated both parties at Barnard Castle, Durham.

The Social Democratic Federation was affiliated to the Committee at the start, but withdrew in August 1901, and thus definitely cut itself off from the main stream of Socialist activity. For although the Labour Party was not a Socialist Party in name or membership, it became the organ through which the political activities of the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society were almost completely expressed, its policy was purely Socialist, and the great majority of its leading members, inside and outside Parliament, were Socialists.

Its numbers grew steadily, and at the Newcastle Conference of 1903 a long internal struggle was concluded by the decisive victory of the section which

had advocated the formation of an independent party. The group plan was abandoned, and a new parliamentary party was established. This change of policy was accepted without demur by everybody except Mr. Bell, who maintained his alliance with the Liberals, and presently ceased to belong to the party.

By 1906 the L.R.C. had in its constituent organisations no fewer than 921,280 members, and at the general election of that year it ran 50 candidates, of whom 29 were successful. At length a party—it adopted the name of Labour Party—was constituted, Socialist in almost everything except its name, and sufficiently powerful to make itself a factor in Parliament. J. Keir Hardie was elected Chairman, a fact which indicates that it was predominantly socialist in opinion notwithstanding that the organised Socialists were but a small minority of the membership.

The impression made on the country was tremendous. Hitherto Socialists had been regarded as a little body of absurd fanatics, incapable of influencing the working classes, shouting very loud, but never even shaking the solid walls of capitalism. On a sudden they had become a party in Parliament, able to force their ideas on public notice, and to exercise a direct influence on the affairs of the country. This impression was deepened by the result of two by-elections. At Jarrow in July 1907 the Labour candidate was elected, beating a Liberal, a Tory, and a Nationalist, and at Colne Valley, Yorkshire, a week or two later, Victor Grayson, a then unknown young man, standing as an

I.L.P. Socialist candidate without Labour Party support, was successful over both Liberal and Conservative.

It will be convenient here to complete the parliamentary history of the Labour Party. In 1908 the Miners' Federation joined as from the next general election, bringing 15 M.P.'s and 550,000 members, and at the election of January 1910, 40 Labour Members were returned, an actual increase because of the Miners, though in fact there was a net loss of six seats. In December 1910 the party, alone of English parties, gained two seats, making their numbers 42, but three seats have been subsequently lost at by-elections in each case fought in altered conditions.

The party is a federation of Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, and local organisations, either Trades Councils or Local Labour Parties. The Trade Unions supply the great bulk of the membership and funds, and the Socialist control of the party depends on the fact that the Trade Unionists themselves are Socialists. A Conference is held annually which determines matters of policy and elects the Executive Committee in three sections, the Trade Unionists 11, the Socialists 3, and the Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties 1. The Executive Committee decides all matters relating to elections, administers the funds, and controls the publications. J. Ramsay MacDonald was Secretary of the party continuously until 1912, when Arthur Henderson succeeded him. The Chairmanship of the Executive is held for a year only. The Parliamentary Party, consisting of the Labour M.P.'s, has its own organisation.

Its Chairman and officers are elected annually; Keir Hardie was Chairman in 1906 and 1907; Arthur Henderson in 1908 and 1909; G. N. Barnes in 1910; and J. Ramsay MacDonald has held the post since 1911. It holds weekly meetings to determine its parliamentary tactics and to decide on bills, motions, etc.

In January 1913 the party consisted of 130 Trade Unions with 1,858,178 members, 146 Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties, two Socialist Societies with 31,237 members, 5000 members of the Women's Labour League, and 1073 Co-operators. Its income, derived from a capitation fee of 1d. per member per year with a small fee paid by Trades Councils, etc., amounted to £3862, but considerable sums came from sales of literature and other sources, and it has a large balance in hand. Many unions are at present prevented by injunction from paying their dues, and under the new Act its regular income should exceed £7500.

The party has no formal basis or formulated policy. Proposals to this end have always been rejected because the party includes Socialists and Trade Unionists some of whom are not Socialists and indeed, in a few cases, are opposed to the formulæ, though not to the proposals of Socialism. But as there is no alternative policy to Socialism, its actions are always socialist. Its programme can only be ascertained from its election and propagandist literature, and recently from its organ the *Daily Citizen*, which was established in 1912 and is controlled by a Company, nine of whose ten directors are elected in equal numbers by the Labour Party, the

I.L.P., and the Trade Unions who are shareholders. The private shareholders are expressly deprived of control over its policy.

The Labour Party was largely created by the indignation of Trade Unionists at the Taff Vale judgment (1900), which deprived Trade Unions of the immunity they had held for a generation from actions for damages by employers injured by strikes. This decision placed the funds of Trade Unions at the mercy of employers and virtually made large-scale strikes too dangerous to be practicable. The Labour Movement was united in demanding its reversal by Parliament, and this was the first plank in the Labour Party platform. This reform was effected by the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. Other legislative achievements of the party were the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, for the feeding of school children, and the Trade Boards Act, 1909, which introduced the principle of a legal minimum wage to the northern hemisphere. The Taff Vale judgment was hardly reversed by law before the Judges found a new flaw in the Trade Union code of law. The funds of Unions had been used at any rate since 1874 for political purposes, but in the Osborne Case (1909) this was declared to be illegal, and all unions were liable to be prevented by injunction from contributing to the Labour Party. In fact, though many unions were precluded from paying their dues, the party was never hampered for want of money, and by the Trade Union Act of 1913 the judgment was reversed and the old liberty restored to the unions, subject to adequate protection for dissentient members.

The Labour Party has had a difficult part to play in English politics. In the first place it has been compelled to place extreme emphasis on its independence. Many of its members, especially those belonging to the Miners' Federation, had been first elected to their seats as Liberals, and were called upon by their Union to change their party without any change either in their opinions or in their constituencies. Labour candidates for a generation had been elected as Liberals; there were already amongst the Liberals quite a number of Socialists, some of them, such as Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P., amongst its best-known literary exponents. It required, therefore, a constant effort to maintain the position of a separate and independent party. Moreover, very few of the Labour Members have held their seats in Parliament exclusively by the votes of their own party. A considerable number sat for two-member constituencies where they shared the representation and the votes with a Liberal. Most of the rest held seats which the Liberals had not contested, and where therefore they had received Liberal as well as Labour support. But they are also compelled to be constantly attacking Liberal seats, because their only possibility of growth is in constituencies already occupied by other parties, and most of those in industrial districts where Labour is strong are held by Liberals.

From 1906 to 1910 their position in Parliament was that of a force on the left wing of the enormous Liberal majority, which was free to vote for or against the Government but in no case could determine the

result. Since the election of January 1910 they have held a position of much greater responsibility. If they had voted in opposition the Government majority would be too small for effective purposes, and they had to choose between giving steady support to the Government and forcing a dissolution. Until the Osborne judgment was reversed by law their course was clear enough. Since then it has been also clear, because they demanded the Parliament Act as vehemently as the Liberals, and they were fully pledged by their electoral promises to support the Budget of 1909, Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and Franchise Reform. Moreover, until these measures, insistently demanded by powerful sections of the country, are out of the way, there is no opportunity for those large schemes of social reconstruction which form their ultimate programme.

But this policy has led to serious difficulties. The extremists and idealists, the men who have fought a long fight as a small minority always attacking those in the majority and in power, cannot be reconciled to see their parliamentary representatives steadily supporting a government in office. What is the good of a Labour Party if it is constantly in alliance with the Liberals? Why not demand legislation for the Unemployed or for Women's Suffrage, and vote relentlessly against the Government until it concedes it or resigns? Mr. George Lansbury, the chief parliamentary advocate of this policy, resigned his seat in November 1912 in order to test the feelings of the electorate on the question of

Women's Suffrage, and was heavily defeated. But this lesson is insufficient for those whose temperament commits them to political idealism.

RECENT SOCIALIST HISTORY

The political activities of the Socialist movement have been expressed by the Labour Party since its formation. It remains to say a few words about the history of the Socialist Societies.

The Social Democratic Party definitely cut itself off from the main stream when it left the Labour Party in 1901. It has remained a body of impossibilists vigorously fighting for an ideal and incidentally fighting all other organisations and parties. It has secured a few seats on local authorities, but has never won a parliamentary election. Its only member in Parliament, Will Thorne, sits for West Ham as a Labour Party Candidate and not as a Social Democrat. In 1911 it joined forces with a number of discontented members of the I.L.P., with Robert Blatchford and the 'Clarionettes,' and with certain other unattached Socialists. The new party, formed at a Conference held at Salford on September 30th, adopted a fresh name, the 'British Socialist Party.' But the more prominent of the new adherents quickly dropped off, and other secessions occurred, notably that of Herbert Burrows, one of the original members, when Mr. Hyndman had joined Mr. Blatchford in advocating a strong navy and joining the then popular outcry against the alleged

aggressive designs of the Germans. The 'B.S.P.' has not followed its leader in this matter, and at its Conference of 1913 Mr. Hyndman agreed not to press his own opinion to the prejudice of his party. A resolution was then carried unanimously pledging the party to concurrence with the International Socialist Conference resolutions opposing increase of armaments and objecting to militarism in all its forms. At this Conference held at Blackpool at Whitsuntide, 85 branches were represented, but the total number is 350. Branch dues were received during the year on a membership of 11,313 members, but there were arrears, and a paying membership of 13,000 to 14,000 is claimed. It must be remembered that actual payment of subscriptions is the severest test of membership! The party continues to publish *Justice*, and has a monthly magazine, the *British Socialist*. Both are issued by the Twentieth Century Press, which virtually belongs to the party.

The Independent Labour Party has continued its policy without substantial change. Its leaders have also been leaders of the Labour Party, and its political policy has been mainly expressed by that body. It has been very successful in obtaining representation on local authorities, having about 1000 of its members in office. It has a printing works in Manchester, whence are issued the weekly *Labour Leader*, the monthly *Socialist Review*, a large number of pamphlets and a series of small volumes entitled 'The Socialist Library' contributed by J. Ramsay MacDonald, Sir Sydney

Olivier, Philip Snowden, and others, including translations of works of foreign Socialists. More than half the Labour M.P.'s are members of the I.L.P. Its Socialist Year Book, edited by J. Bruce Glasier, is a most useful survey of the Socialism of the world. Its Chairman is once more J. Keir Hardie, re-elected with a view to presiding over the Coming of Age Conference to be held in 1914. Of its other leaders, J. Ramsay MacDonald is Chairman of the Labour Party, Philip Snowden is probably its most powerful orator, whilst W. C. Anderson, who was Chairman for the customary term of three years up to 1913, is destined in the opinion of all who know him to take as prominent a place in Parliament as he has recently held in the movement outside.

The Annual Conference of 1913 was attended by delegates from 176 branches, but the total number is 713. The dues of 1d. per month amounted to £1084, representing at least 21,686 members, a reduction on the year, but this figure is a very inadequate indication of the party, which is approximately 50,000 or more. The Head Office expenditure was £2180, and the income considerably less. The sum of £778 was raised for parliamentary purposes.

The Fabian Society, as has already been explained, gradually lost its local organisation throughout the country after the formation of the I.L.P., but the London Society steadily grew in numbers and influence. It issued a series of Fabian Tracts mainly on the application of Socialism to particular problems, which

have a high reputation for accuracy and thoroughness. The lectures held twice a month continuously from the formation of the Society have brought its attitude towards Socialism and politics before a considerable number of the present generation of politicians. The success of the Labour Party in 1906 attracted great attention to Socialism, and both the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society had a great accession of members. About the same time Mr. H. G. Wells interested himself in Fabian affairs, and endeavoured to remodel the Society in accordance with his own ideas. In this enterprise he was substantially unsuccessful, but his vigour and genius, combined with a capacity for advertisement, attracted a great amount of attention to its doings and brought in a crowd of new members. Mr. Wells soon tired of his excursion into Socialism, and abandoned the movement altogether, but happily he wrote several books and pamphlets on the subject, one of which, *New Worlds for Old*, is perhaps the most original and suggestive exposition of Socialism which has yet appeared in the English language.

During all these years several of the Fabian Essayists had been acquiring fame in various departments.

Sydney Olivier had kept to his official career, had become Governor of Jamaica, K.C.M.G., and recently Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Sidney Webb retired from the Colonial Office in 1892, became a London County Councillor, and chiefly in collaboration with his wife, published a series of books which are everywhere recognised as classics, *The*

History of Trade Unionism, Industrial Democracy, The History of Local Government, and many others. Bernard Shaw has become the most famous of English dramatists, and, at any rate in the opinion of foreigners, the most remarkable of living English thinkers. Mrs. Sidney Webb first became known, when Miss Beatrice Potter, as the author of *The Co-operative Movement*, and subsequently as joint author with her husband of numerous volumes. In 1905 she was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, which sat for three years. The Minority Report of this Commission, which was in fact written by her husband and herself, is one of the most important expositions of the application of Socialism to the problems of unemployment and destitution. The Report, reprinted by the Fabian Society and by the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, established by Mrs. Webb to advocate its policy, had an enormous circulation, and is notable as offering the only reasoned method for the prevention of unemployment which has ever been submitted to the public. Recently Mrs. Webb has begun to take an active official part in the Socialist movement.

During the past few years the Fabian Society has again established branches in the country, but its provincial organisation is on a small scale compared with those of the other Societies. It has, however, branches in Oxford, Cambridge, and other Universities, some of which have existed for many years, and have helped to form the opinions of many hundreds of men now in public service, in the professions and in Parlia-

ment. These have been recently united into the University Socialist Federation.

The Society has a membership of 2804, and in addition there are about 500 provincial members not belonging to the London Society; there are 50 local and University Fabian Societies. There are at present (1913) 12 Fabians in Parliament, 8 in the Labour Party, and 4 Liberals. The Society exercises no control over the political action of its members. The Society has Groups for special subjects, a Research Department with separate offices, it holds a Summer School every summer, and recently its leading members have established a weekly Review, the *New Statesman*, which is not directly connected with the Society, but none the less serves as a popular and most successful exponent of its principles, and sometimes as a medium for its publications. The Society continues its series of Fabian Tracts, which are everywhere recognised as of high value, and it publishes a Fabian Socialist Series of small volumes and occasional other books.

In the last few years the relations between the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. have become increasingly cordial. In 1910 a Joint Standing Committee was constituted for propaganda purposes which has since carried out combined lecture campaigns and has issued joint literature. It has been successful in acquiring funds without seeking contributions either from the constituent societies or their members.

AUSTRALASIA

Socialism in the Southern Hemisphere is more typically English than in England itself. Australia and New Zealand are the most perfect democracies in the world. Peopled almost exclusively by men of British race, carrying with them century-old traditions of self-government, free from the antiquated constitution, the alien races, and the powerful plutocracy which hinder social progress in the United States, these fortunate lands have developed governmental institutions which are the envy of other countries.

Socialism in Australasia takes two forms. In the first place the Governments have always been genuinely popular, and the elsewhere distinction between the State and private enterprise has scarcely been recognised. The people organised themselves as a government in order to develop a new country: whenever the individual settler could not himself undertake any task he naturally resorted to the community organised as the State, which moreover could procure the necessary capital from Europe more easily and cheaply than he could himself. Hence, without any theory or principle, except in recent years, the Governments of Australasia have undertaken all sorts of collective enterprise beginning with railways and proceeding to such detailed services as export of butter, mutton, apples, and rabbits, to be sold in London on behalf of the producers. State Coal Mines in New Zealand, ore stamps in South and West Australia, Life Insurance,

Fire Insurance, and a Public Trustee are amongst the enterprises started in Australasia, some of which have already or are likely soon to be adopted in Europe.

Furthermore in a country without an aristocracy or a powerful plutocracy, or any preconceived theory of the functions of Government, the working classes have used the power of the State to protect their labour, just as in older countries, the professional classes—doctors, lawyers, teachers, and clergy—long ago obtained State recognition, regulation, and, in some cases, monopoly rights for their professional organisations. It is impossible here to give a full account of Australasian Labour Legislation, a subject on which numerous large volumes have been published. The outstanding features are: Old Age Pensions, first enacted in New Zealand in 1898; Minimum Wages Boards, established in Victoria in 1896; Compulsory Arbitration in Labour Disputes, adopted in New Zealand in 1894 and in South Australia in the same year; elaborate codes of Factory Acts; Education Acts; Acts regulating the immigration of Chinese, Kanakas and other non-European races—a White Australia is the foremost plank in the Labour Party Programme—and a very long series of Land Acts, partly due to the inspiration of Henry George, deliberately directed towards the breaking up of great pastoral estates, the assistance of agricultural settlers, the penalising of land-holding by non-residents and the taxation of unearned increment. This legislation has been passed by all parties. Organised Labour in recent years has been forcing the pace, but the earlier

steps were taken before the Labour Party obtained the position which it has occupied in the last decade. In democratic legislation Australasia has also taken the lead. The parliamentary vote was given to women in New Zealand in 1893 and is now universal. Registration is simple and effective, and 54 per cent of the total population are registered electors.

This brief sketch indicates how much of the immediate programmes of European Socialists has already become law in Australasia, to some extent through the power of the Labour Party, but in the main by the will of the whole people. We must next turn to the second form of Australian Socialism, the Labour Party.

The Dockers' Strike in London in 1889 attracted general sympathy in Australia, and it was followed by a great strike in the Shipping Trade in 1890 which extended to many other industries and ended in complete failure. Trade Unionism having received a set-back, the working classes turned to politics for the attainment of their objects, and in New South Wales in the same year a Labour Electoral League was formed. At the General Election of June 1891, 35 members in a house of 141 were returned, an astonishing victory for a new party. The burning question in New South Wales was protection, on which the Labour Party quickly split, and for some years it was rendered ineffective because astute politicians in power were always able to manipulate it at critical moments on this issue.

It is not necessary here to follow in detail the

fortunes of the parties in the various states. It suffices to say that the Labourites have gradually and steadily grown at the expense of the other two parties, and the general position is that Labour and non-labour are now virtually the two forces in Australia. Anti-labour is the phrase often used, but it conveys the impression of opposition in principle, whereas in fact the differences between the parties are but differences in degree. In 1904 the first Commonwealth Labour Government came into power: a second held office in 1908-9, and recently the Hon. A. Fisher was Premier for three years—1910-13—when he was defeated at a general election by the narrowest of majorities. Labour is still in a large majority in the Senate. In the lower house the Liberals hold office by the casting vote of the Speaker. A list of Labour Ministries in Australia is given in the Appendix.

In New Zealand progress has been on different lines. A Liberal-Labour alliance was formed largely by the efforts of the Hon. W. Pember Reeves in 1890, and when Richard Seddon, a miner from Lancashire, succeeded to the premiership on the death of Mr. Ballance in 1893, the Liberal-Labour Party, under his guidance, ruled the country for thirteen years, the party winning in all seven consecutive general elections. He died in 1906, and at the General Election of 1911 the parties were about evenly balanced, but the Government was defeated, and resigned in February 1912. A Social Democratic Party has recently been formed in alliance with Trade Unionism somewhat after the

German model, and it seems likely that New Zealand will follow the example of its great neighbour in its form of political organisation.

A Socialist party exists in Australia, but it is of little importance in comparison with the other forces already described. The interesting feature of Australasian Socialism is its spontaneous evolution. State organisation of industry and State care for labour have grown up owing to the planting of an intelligent people in a new country during the 19th century: the political organisation of Labour has arisen because labour became vaguely aware of its rights and suddenly conscious of its power. No one great leader has founded the party or devised its policy: no philosopher has pointed the way: the whole thing has grown up because it suited the environment, and because the people had learned by experience that this was what they wanted.

CHAPTER XV

A GENERAL VIEW OF SOCIALISM

WE have, in the preceding chapters, sketched the rise and the principles of the leading schools of historic Socialism. In the experiments conducted by the followers of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen, we see a desire forthwith to create a ready-made and complete Socialism. Louis Blanc and Lassalle agreed in demanding the organisation of society on democratic principles, and the establishment of productive associations by a State thus constituted. The resemblance in type between the community of Owen, the *phalange* of Fourier, and the free commune of Bakunin is obvious.

Throughout the history of Socialism we also observe the contrast between the tendency which emphasises State authority and the need of centralisation, and that other tendency which regards local bodies as fundamental. As we have seen, that contrast was perfectly clear in the earliest French Socialism, in the schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier. While calling on the State to furnish credit for productive associations, both L. Blanc and Lassalle strongly insisted that these as-

sociations should be self-governing and self-developing. The centralising tendency was very marked in Rodbertus. Though it cannot be maintained that the Marx school insist excessively on the claims of authority, yet in the conduct of the International they had a severe struggle with the Anarchist following of Bakunin. It is simply the old question of authority and order in relation to individual and local freedom, which is always reappearing, and which cannot be solved on absolute principles.

Notwithstanding those general features of resemblance, it would be a serious mistake to identify Socialism with any of its forms, past or present. They are only passing phases of a movement which will endure. If Socialism has given proof of a persistent vitality, it has also undergone many transformations, and will in all probability undergo many more. Our task now is to inquire into the significance, tendency, and value of the general movement.

The problem before us is one of historical interpretation in the widest sense of the word. It is not an academic question which can be settled by the scholarly comparison of texts and systems.

If the socialistic movement were complete and finished, it would be merely a subject of sympathetic analysis and generalisation by the historian. But the socialistic movement is not complete; it is in process of making—probably only in its early stage. It is a question, therefore, which must be treated not only in the light of history and human nature, but with special

reference to the now prevailing forces — industrial, political, social, and ethical.

For the rational interpretation of Socialism we cannot too often emphasise the fact that it is not an abstract system, but a thing in movement. It is not wedded to any stereotyped set of formulas, whether of Marx or any other, but is rooted in reality, and, while moulding facts, it must adapt itself to them. Above all, we must ever remember that it claims to represent the aspirations after a better life of the toiling and suffering millions of the human race.

Even a cursory review of the historic Socialism is enough to show that, while it has been prolific of new thought in economics, it has been disfigured by every kind of extravagance. In general, it has been far too artificial, arbitrary, and absolute in its treatment of social questions. The early theorists especially were profoundly ignorant of the laws expressing the evolution of society. Many later Socialists of great influence have laid excessive stress on revolution as the lever of social progress. Most of them have been too absolute in their condemnation of competition. In fact, their general position consists far too much in a sweeping condemnation of the present society, forgetful the while that it is only out of the present that the future, in which they place their hopes, can proceed.

Socialism, too, has in the past often shown a tendency to degenerate into a stiff and barren orthodoxy, which sought to solve all problems by narrow and half-digested theories. This is particularly ap-

parent in the attempts to introduce into England and America formulas and modes of action which have grown up in the very different atmosphere of the European continent. It has not sufficiently recognised the fluent and many-sided variety of modern life, which cannot be embodied in any formula, however comprehensive and elastic.

Finally, socialistic speculation has in many cases tended, not to reform and humanise, but to subvert the family, on the soundness of which social health above all things depends.

In the treatment of other questions, such as capital, rent, and interest, the same defects of arbitrariness and absoluteness are apparent. But the extravagances of the historic Socialism are so obvious that we need not dwell on this aspect of our subject. We must remember that most historic systems have had to run themselves clear of the turbid elements with which they were originally mixed. Socialism, considered both as a movement and as a system of economic thought, is still in process of development. Its theories must undergo the rough-hewing of continual controversy, discussion, and criticism. The whole movement must pass through the test, the tear and wear of experience, under the conditions prescribed by the fundamental laws of human nature, before its ideals can be realised.

In the past the prevalent economic system has never been always and everywhere true to type. Feudalism was not a stereotyped system, but took a special form in each European country, and in each

country it changed from age to age. The competitive system has never entirely and exclusively dominated any society, and has been everywhere modified by custom and the traditions of the past, by national and social interests, and by moral considerations. Adam Smith, the great expounder of natural liberty, did not put it forth as an abstract and exclusive principle, but reserved a large sphere where private enterprise needed to be supplemented by the action of the State. We can only say of the competitive system that it has been normal or prevalent over the most advanced countries of the world for a considerable time. We must conceive Socialism in the same way as claiming, when certain historical conditions have been realised, to be the normal or prevalent type of economic and social organisation.

German Socialists have been too much influenced by the Prussian type of government and theory of the State. We are not surprised that Rodbertus should be Prussian throughout in his way of thinking, but it is a notable instance of the irony of circumstances that Marx should be so largely controlled by habits of speculation which he had learned in Germany in his youth. He was to a great degree Prussian and Hegelian in his political and philosophical habit of mind till the end of his life. It is natural enough that the conception of Socialism formed by Wagner and Schäffle should be of a similar character. For them Socialism is a system of centralisation, of management from above under a bureaucracy. Such a view may

suit people that are used to a centralising autocracy and bureaucracy associated with militarism, but it is entirely opposed to English ideas. An industrial and economic system which would remind us at every step of the Prussian army, the Prussian police, and Prussian officialism, is not attractive to those who have breathed a freer air.

But we must now consider a question which is vastly more important than any of the criticisms now offered. What may be regarded as the solid and permanent contribution to human progress made by Socialism ?

There should be no doubt that Socialism has largely contributed to the following results:—

First, It has greatly helped to give prevalence to the historical conception of Political Economy. The very conception of Socialism has been based on the idea of social-economic change. Their subject has naturally led Socialists to study the rise, growth, decline, and fall of economic institutions. And, as we shall see later on, the influence of Hegel and Darwin has taught them to merge the idea of historical economics in the wider and more fundamental conception of evolution. In England Socialists are now the chief promoters of the advance in economic study from the ordinary standpoint to the historical, and from the historical to the evolutionary point of view.

Secondly, Socialism has greatly deepened and widened the ethical conception of Political Economy. It has, in season and out of season, taught that the entire

technical and economic mechanism of society should be made subordinate to human well-being, and that moral principle should be supreme over the whole field of industrial and commercial activity. The charge sometimes brought against Socialism, that it appeals only to the lower appetites and instincts of humanity, is most unjust. It would be a more reasonable criticism to say that it inculcates an unselfishness unattainable by any probable development of human nature.

Thirdly, Socialism has brought the cause of the poor most powerfully before the civilised world. It is one of the enduring results of socialistic agitation and discussion that the interests of the suffering members of the human race, so long ignored and so fearfully neglected, have become a question of the first magnitude, the foremost question in all progressive countries. It is this question which gives a substantial basis and a real meaning to the great democratic movement, which it would be the gravest of all errors to regard as a merely political struggle. The cause of the poor is likely to be the burning question for the future, lending to political questions their interest, seriousness, and unspeakable importance.

Fourthly, Socialism has given us a searching criticism of the existing social-economic system. It may be said to have laid its diagnosing finger on all the sores of society. The only objection that can be rationally taken is that the diagnosis has been an exaggerated one. All fair-minded judges will, however, admit that the socialistic criticism of the existing competitive system

is largely, if not substantially, justified on the following points :—

1. The position of the working people, who are the overwhelming majority in every society, is not in harmony with ethical ideas. It has often and largely been a position of degradation, demoralisation, and misery. Normally, it is not consistent with what must be striven after as a desirable condition for the mass of humanity, for it is insecure, dependent, and to a large degree servile. The workmen have no reasonable control of their dearest interests; have no guarantee of a settled home, of daily bread, and of adequate provision for old age. They possess a delusive freedom which has no solid economic basis.

2. The prevailing competitive system is to a large degree anarchy, and this is not an accident, but a necessity of its nature. This anarchy has two great and baneful modes of expression: strikes, which are a form of industrial war, carrying misery and insecurity over large sections of population, and sometimes menacing the industrial and social life of a whole nation; and the commercial crises, which at times have had even a more disastrous influence, spreading like a storm over the entire civilised world, overthrowing honourable houses of business, and exposing to hopeless ruin and starvation millions of honest people who are in no wise responsible for their fate. In England commercial crises are now apparently replaced by periods of stagnation, which for all concerned are scarcely a change for the better.

3. The phenomena of waste, which are always more

or less a feature of the competitive system, are particularly manifest during the great industrial and commercial crises. Not only are the products of industry intended for consumption wasted, but the productive forces themselves, such as machinery and shipping, deteriorate, whilst great numbers of people are idle and starving.

4. The prevailing system also leads to the development of an idle class of the most motley description, some rich and some poor, and all a tax on the workers who maintain them.

5. The existing competitive system also necessarily leads to a vast amount of inferior, inartistic production in all departments. Cheapness is too conspicuous a feature of every branch of industry.

6. Our moral standards in every department of the national life are corrupted by the excessive prevalence of a commercial and mercenary spirit. No rank, profession, or calling has escaped its influence.

7. Thus we are led to the general result, that inequalities of condition, and the too prevalent anarchy and insecurity, as well as the unworthy status of the workers under the competitive system, are a permanent source of trouble and even danger to society. The circumstances of the workmen have improved; but it is doubtful whether the improvement has kept pace with their advancing enlightenment and the growing sense of their rights and needs. Here again we must emphasise the fact that the progress of democracy is not merely a political matter. It means still more the

continual development of intelligence and of higher and finer needs in the mass of the people, a fuller consciousness of the claims of labour, a greater capacity for organisation, a wider moral and intellectual horizon. In the contrast between their moral and intellectual growth on the one hand, and their insecure and inferior position as precarious wage-labourers on the other, we may at one and the same time discover a great danger to our present social order and a splendid guarantee of further progress. Now, as ever, progress must be attained through struggle, and perfection through suffering.

Scarcely any reasonable man therefore will deny that Socialism has done excellent service to mankind in so strongly emphasising the necessity for further progress. While it has largely helped to rouse the working classes out of their apathy, it has also done much to dispel the comfortable optimism of those who had succeeded in the competitive struggle for existence.

This criticism of society is valuable, but its effect is mainly negative. We may go on to claim, however, that Socialism, when purified from materialism, from the too revolutionary, absolute, and abstract elements with which it has been associated, can render a positive and substantial service to human improvement that would be vastly more valuable than any criticism.

In previous chapters it has been made abundantly clear that the characteristic feature of the present

economic order is industry carried on by private competing capitalists served by wage-labour. According to Socialism the industry of the future should be carried on by free associated workers rationally utilising a united capital with a view to an equitable system of distribution. As we have already had occasion to say, no formal statement can rightly give expression to the meaning of a great historical movement. But in such language we believe the contrast between the old order and the new can most simply and at the same time with due adequacy be expressed.

The same type of industrial organisation has been well set forth by J. S. Mill in these words: 'The form of association, however, which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and workpeople without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves.'¹ Mill's view of the subject, it may be remarked in passing, was derived from the study of French and English Socialists. His good sense saved him from the utopian extravagance of these writers, and as he had little sympathy with the peculiarly German ways of thought, he shows no tendency to the abstractness of the specialists of the Fatherland. The result is a conception of Socialism which is at once intrinsically more reasonable, more

¹ Mill's *Political Economy*, People's Edition, p. 465.

adapted to the English mind and to universality, than any other offered by prominent economists.

The true meaning of Socialism, when rationally understood, is given in the dominating tendencies of social evolution. On the one hand, the effect of the industrial revolution has been to concentrate the means both of production and distribution in immense masses. Capital can now be managed efficiently only on a large scale. The day for the small capital, and the successful control of it by individuals, has passed away. It may continue under exceptional circumstances, but it can no longer expect to be the normal or prevalent form of industry. On the other hand, the body of the people, represented by the modern democracy, can legitimately claim that they shall no longer be excluded from the control of their own economic and social interests. It is a rational and equitable demand that the prevalent divorce of the workers from land and capital should cease. This divorce can be terminated, and the mass of the people can be restored to a participation in the ownership and control of land and capital, only through the principle of association. This is the basis of Socialism as given in the normal and dominant forces of the social evolution of our time. As we said in the introduction, Socialism is the child of two great revolutions—the industrial revolution, and the vast social and political change embodied in the modern democracy.

Socialism, then, simply means that the normal social organisation of the future will and should be an

associated or co-operative one. It means that industry should be carried on by free associated workers. The development of Socialism will follow the development of the large industry ; and it will rationally, scientifically, and systematically use the mechanical appliances evolved during the industrial revolution for the promotion of a higher life among the masses of the people.

It is a new type of industry and economic organisation the practicability of which must be decided by the test of experience. It cannot be introduced mechanically. We cannot force or improvise such a change in the constitution of society. No revolutionary violence can avail to carry through a transformation which runs counter to the fundamental laws of human nature or the great prevailing tendencies of social evolution. This will be especially manifest when we consider that its realisation will above all things depend on the ethical advance of the mass of the people. Character cannot be improved by magic ; it can be substantially ameliorated only by an organic change, external circumstances co-operating with an inward moral spirit. The present competitive system must therefore be regarded as holding the field except in those departments and in those directions in which Socialism has given adequate proof of the practicability of the alternative organisation which it offers.

Let us next consider how Socialism is related to the doctrines of evolution.

The idea of evolution has had a great influence in the

history of socialistic speculation. Beginning with Saint-Simon most Socialists have recognised three stages in the economic development of mankind—slavery, serfdom, and wage-labour—which last they believe will be displaced by an era of associated labour with a collective capital. The idea of development may indeed be regarded as essential to Socialism, inasmuch as it must contemplate a succession of social-economic changes in history.

Marx and Lassalle were both trained in the school of Hegel, and naturally applied to the problems of society the Hegelian theory of development. The principle that economic categories are historical categories, so much emphasised by Lassalle, was by him, as it was by his fellow-labourers, merged in the wider and more fundamental conception of evolution, historical economics thus becoming evolutionary economics.

Some of the later Socialists see in Darwin's theory of evolution an explanation of their ideas of development.

But to many students this theory has suggested the strongest arguments against Socialism. How does the theory of the struggle for existence consist with the harmony of interests contemplated by Socialism? Is it not utopian of the Marx school to believe that the struggle of classes, which has hitherto characterised the course of history, can be brought to a close by a great revolutionary act?

Competition, that *bête noire* of the Socialists, is simply the social-economic form of the struggle for existence. Is not competition, therefore, the prime

condition of social progress? And is not Socialism, therefore, inconsistent with progress?

Thus we are confronted with the twofold problem, whether Socialism does not deny the cardinal principles of evolution, and thereby also deny the prime condition of social progress?

In the earliest stages of the history of man the struggle was one for a bare existence, not far above that of the lower animals; but as time went on, it began to take a higher form. The main motive power, however, has always been the self-regarding principle in which the struggle originated. On the whole it was only a more rational and enlightened self-interest which dictated the change from extermination to slavery, from slavery to serfdom, and from serfdom to the system of competitive free labour. Idealism, the longing for a better life, has always been a force in human affairs, and its influence appears to be growing greater. Yet it could not be seriously maintained that the peoples who instituted slavery, serfdom, or the competitive system, were in the main actuated by ideal or high ethical motives. It is our duty to recognise that the inevitable progress of society has brought with it a higher life, even though it be merely due to a more enlightened self-interest.

Thus, while in its early stages it was a struggle for mere existence, in later times it has become more and more a struggle for a privileged or superior existence. The victors in most historic struggles have reserved to themselves the loftier functions of government, war and

the chase, and the vanquished have been constrained to provide a subsistence both for their masters and themselves by means of labour. Life still is a struggle for the best places in society. And it is a particular object of struggle not to belong to the class of manual labour.

The competitive system is the latest form of the struggle for existence. It is not an accident, but the outcome of the prevalent historic forces. The time had come when free labour was found to be more efficient than servile labour. The feudal system, of which serfdom was a part, went down before the strongly centralised State. The competitive system is the form assumed by the struggle for existence in societies which were controlled by powerful central governments; it is industrial freedom under conditions of legality enforced by strongly constituted governments. In earlier and less settled states of society the struggle for existence used to be decided by more direct and forcible methods. In other days men slew their rivals: at the present time they undersell them.

And we need not say that the competitive system has been a process of selection, bringing to the front, as leaders of industry and also as heads of society, the 'fittest' men.

The struggle for existence, therefore, has continued through human history, and will still continue. The only question is regarding the form it is likely to take in the economic and political conditions which now tend to prevail all over the world.

But social progress is not solely determined by the struggle for existence. It proceeds from the interaction, the balance and harmony, of many principles. The general question of social development, in which that of progress is involved, must be regarded in the light of the following considerations. Only we must premise that they are not a contradiction of the Darwinian theory; they are to be taken as a complement of it, and a correction of the narrow and one-sided conception of the theory.

1. The political, social, and ethical development of mankind is largely a record of the endeavour to place the struggle for existence under regulation. Progress chiefly and supremely consists in the growing control of ethical principle over all the forms of selfishness, egotism, unscrupulousness, and cruelty called forth by such struggle. In other words, progress mainly consists in the growing supremacy of law, order, and morality over the excess of the self-regarding principle in which the individual struggle has its root. We do not say that this exhausts the meaning of the ethical development of man, but it is a most important aspect of it.

Thus the ethical factor is the decisive one in human progress, but it has advanced *pari passu* with the general social and political progress. We see it in the crudest and most elementary forms when man emerged from the darkness of pre-historic times, and it has gradually developed into a noble complex of ideals, informed by a growing knowledge and by widening sympathies. In short, human progress has been a

continual effort towards the realisation of the true, the beautiful, and the good, in such measure as was attainable by each succeeding generation of the race.

Not that the struggle for existence is thereby abolished. The struggle, and the regulation of it too, are carried forward into a further stage of progress, to be continued on a higher social and ethical plane. The human struggle generally is on a higher plane than the animal one which Darwin describes. It is a struggle on the plane of an intelligence which never ceases to develop, amongst beings who pursue social and ethical aims with growing clearness and energy. If the results still fall so far below our aims, it is because our intelligence and means of performance, though enlarging, are still very imperfect.

What we call natural selection in the animal world is in human history transformed, elevated, and idealised; it becomes social selection. We may call it natural, if we please; only, we must remember the greatly altered character of the agents concerned in it. While at every stage we see moral and intellectual growth, we must particularly remember that the new society for which Socialists strive will consist of associated free beings acting under the regulation and stimulus of high ethical and artistic ends and ideals.

Nothing, therefore, can be more narrow and one-sided than to consider the struggle for existence as the sole lever of human progress. Such one-sided insistence on the idea of struggle is to deny the whole ethical development of the world.

Socialism professes to continue and promote the ethical and social development which we have described on a higher plane of progress than has hitherto been reached; to place the natural economic powers operating in human destiny under the regulation of reason, moral principle, and ideals of beauty; to render technical and mechanical appliances, and all the material and economic factors underlying human life, subservient to the well-being of man in a way hitherto unattained; and so to achieve the ethical freedom of man and his rational supremacy over the world. The competitive system is the latest phase in the struggle for existence, and Socialism is the latest theory for the regulation of it along the well-approved lines of human progress.

By such tests, none lower or narrower, must a rational Socialism be tried.

2. There is, however, one side of this ethical progress which deserves to be more particularly considered. The ethical progress of man is largely a development of the principle of sociality, community, or association. This principle has its centre in the family, with all that is implied therein; in the association of man and woman, in the sacrifices made by both and especially by the mother for the children. Historically, it has developed from the tribe into ever wider and more complex forms—the city, nation, and race—until it more and more embraces the whole human family. That is, it finally tends to become international, so that the whole human family may be included in common ethical and social

bonds—a state of things which is still far from being realised, but is in process.

In the evolution of living things two factors have been decisive, the development of brain power and the development of the social principle. We need scarcely add that the two are intimately connected, and further that the brain power of man is closely co-ordinated with his physical development. The supremacy of man is due to his brain power and to his readiness to associate for common ends, far more than to his strength or hardihood, in which he is greatly excelled by other animals. The entire history of civilisation bears witness to the potency of the two factors; for it is a truism to say that the communities and races that have excelled in brain power and in the family and social moralities have prevailed. A rational Socialism might be defined as the mastery of associated human intelligence over the resources of nature for the general good. In this respect, also, the success of Socialism would simply mark the continuous development of man along the tested and approved lines of progress.

It will be seen, then, that the principle of sociality or of association plays a specially important part in human development. Yet in close connection with it we again observe the wide operation of the struggle for existence. The struggle for existence is not only a struggle of individuals against each other. It has also been a struggle of tribe against tribe, of city against city, of nation against nation, and race against race. In the

existing society it is, moreover, a struggle of classes against each other. Considered in this aspect, which is too obvious to require illustration, the struggle for existence has assumed the most complicated forms, and has had the greatest influence in the history of the world. And the intensity of the struggle has called forth some of the highest human qualities—inventiveness, capacity for organisation, submission to discipline, enthusiasm, heroism, and self-sacrifice. The struggle, hateful though it be in many respects, has been one of the great training schools of the human race.

Modern European history is an impressive example of the importance of this struggle for existence. The progress of Europe is greatly owing to the fact that in this continent we have a group of communities which are closely related, yet independent, and rivals. In every department of activity they learn from each other, and spur one another on by continual emulation. Each must follow its rivals in the adoption of every new improvement, under penalty of decline and even ruin. Communities like China and Japan in the old world, and the native States of Mexico and Peru in the new world, were isolated, and therefore stationary.

Under the existing conditions, a social organisation favourable to the development of the intelligence, energy, and enthusiasm of the mass of the people is more and more necessary to success in the keen and arduous struggle waged by the European communities. The future both of Democracy and of Socialism will

largely depend on how far they can supply these advantages of organisation. For it is a struggle also between forms of social organisation. Any better form of organisation, when adopted by one of the communities, must also be adopted by its rivals. As soon as it was recognised that universal education and universal liability to military duty gave Prussia an exceptional advantage in the European struggle, other nations have been eager to follow.

Thus, through the development of the principle of sociality in the history of civilisation, the struggle for existence is not abolished. It is continued under more complex conditions, on a wider scale, over larger areas, by greater masses of organised men, with mightier weapons and vaster resources.

3. It is one of the most interesting aspects of history, that we regard it as the education of the human race. Social progress is the result of a long process of discipline, and the training has often been most severe. It would appear as if mankind needed to be goaded and driven forward on the path of improvement.

The theory of the struggle for existence throws new light on the education of humanity. The nations of the world have been schoolmasters to each other; and the competitive system, too, has been a process of discipline for all who have been concerned in it. Socialism, rightly understood, may be regarded as a new phase of the discipline of humanity. For the transition into Socialism, if attainable at all, will be more difficult

than many suppose. It must be gradual, preparing the minds and morals, the habits and institutions, of the mass of the people for a higher form of social-economic life. As isolated individuals, the working class have no prospect of success. They can make progress only by practising the virtues of combination, foresight, self-control, self-denial, discernment in choosing their leaders, loyalty, unwearying perseverance in well-doing. These qualities have been already cultivated in them by means of their trade-unions and co-operative societies. The process of socialistic evolution will carry on the process of social-economic education.

Socialism must therefore be regarded as providing an economic and social discipline for all men who have the requisite insight, and particularly for the working class, who are its special representatives and promoters. It will offer fresh scope and opportunity to the working class as a whole. But it will also be a process of social selection ; for, while inviting all, it will attract the fittest and most worthy, and lead them on to higher things.

It must be admitted, that as yet the influence of socialistic thought on the civilised world is mainly in the region of opinion. In the domain of practice the competitive system, in spite of many very important modifications, still holds the field ; and the old Political Economy, though greatly discredited, still finds its strongest justification in the fact that it is a reasonably

accurate analysis of an existing and working system. When asked for any grounds that may be brought forward for believing that the socialistic ideal is becoming a reality, we can only point to symptoms or tendencies, not to definite results on a scale commensurate with the development of modern industry.

Yet these tendencies are large, most significant, and visibly increasing. The following are the main lines along which they may be observed :—

1. The State, which may be regarded as an association of men on a large scale and must therefore always play a large part in the organisation of the community.

2. The Municipality (or Commune, which, notwithstanding certain objections, is the more convenient word, as it includes the parish as well as the municipality) which is the association of men for local purposes.

As every one knows how greatly the range of State and Municipal action for the common good has been extended in recent years, we need not enlarge on this aspect of our subject. But in what we have to say it will be convenient to consider the State and the Local Authority together, as they are really complements of of each other. In a well-ordered community there would be no real opposition between the two. Under the conditions which now prevail there can be no flourishing local life except in reasonable relation to an efficient central organ; and the central organ can do its part wisely and effectively only by allowing suitable scope to local energy. No absolute rules can be laid

down for the relations of the two to each other; these must be determined by considerations of time and circumstance.

It may not be a new thing in theory, that the State should be an association for the promotion of the common interests of all its members, or that the commune should be an association for the general good of the inhabitants of a locality; but it is practically new. It is only during the last generation that the people who form the majority of every society have received any reasonable consideration from the organs of the State. We have during the last eighty years seen a tardy reversal of the old injustice in our own country, and for some years the movement towards improvement has been growing apace. But our leading statesmen seem even yet to be only half willing to advance. The domestic history of recent times is the record of concessions made, not because the leaders of either of our great parties particularly approved of them, but because they were demanded by large sections of voters.

The statesmen of Germany have been more consistent; for when they inaugurated their schemes of State Socialism they frankly proclaimed their adhesion to its principles. In this they were encouraged by the old law of Prussia, which recognised the duty of the State to provide subsistence for those who could not make a living, and labour for those who were out of employment. The position of the Prussian kingdom has always been such that it required to foster the full strength of the State by all available means, and

therefore could not afford to neglect any considerable portion of its population. In his State Socialism, therefore, Bismarck could appeal with some show of reason to the traditional policy of Prussia. But it was really a new departure.

Its leading principles were announced in an Imperial message to the Reichstag on the 17th of November 1881. Besides the repressive measures necessary to restrain the excesses of the Social Democracy, the Emperor declared that the healing of social evils was to be sought in positive measures for the good of the working man. The measures proposed were for the insurance of the workmen against accident, sickness, old age, and inability to work, by arrangements under State control. 'The finding of the right ways and means for this State protection of the working man is a difficult task, but also one of the highest duties that concern every society standing on the ethical foundations of the Christian national life.' The Imperial programme has been realised. It may be regarded as the beginning of better things to come. The help provided by its various measures is scanty enough, but no one can reasonably doubt that it is immeasurably superior to our English Poor Law, and it has been a model from which recent British legislation has closely copied.

So much for State Socialism in Germany. To find a democracy which is really government of the people by the people for the people, we must go to our colonies at the antipodes. It is a democracy which

both in theory and practice has most fully recognised that the State is an association for the promotion of the well-being of the whole people. New Zealand, one of the youngest of the English colonies, is the finest example of such a State. The State in New Zealand owns and works railways, coal mines, and telephones. When in 1894 the Bank of New Zealand was on the point of stopping payment, with the most disastrous results to the country, the Government came to its help with a guarantee of £4,000,000 and made it a State institution. It has made advances of cheap money to settlers and passed legislation to break up large estates. The laws for the protection of labour have been elaborated to a high degree. It adopted the method of settling labour disputes by compulsory arbitration, and was the first country to enact an old-age pension scheme. It has introduced women's suffrage, graduated taxation, a complete system of local option in the drink trade, a public system of life insurance and of medical care, and it set up a public trustee with very wide and beneficent powers, an example which the mother country has followed with great success.

3. The Co-operative Society or association of consumers.—Co-operation for some time made comparatively little progress, but when we consider how painfully capital, experience, and skill had to be acquired by the poor workers, we should rather be surprised at the advance that has been made in so many progressive countries. It is a partial realisation of the Socialist ideal in that it is production for use and the complete

abolition both of profits and of competition. Its strongest point is that it has arisen directly out of the people and remains completely under their control.

There are three forms of co-operation. — (1) Co-operation of consumers ; (2) Co-operation of producers jointly owning and controlling the capital they use ; (3) Co-operation of independent, usually small, producers for special purposes.

In England the dominant form of co-operation is the first. The Rochdale Pioneers in 1844 devised the plan of subscribing capital to found a store, and returning the profits, after paying a fixed interest on the capital, to the purchasers in proportion to the amount of their purchases. Payment of dividend on purchases was the master key which opened the door to success. In January 1912 there were in Great Britain 1407 societies with a membership of 2,640,091, representing over one-fifth of the population, with a capital of £33,253,757, a turnover of £74,802,469, and annual profits of £11,693,920.

A later development was the Co-operative Wholesale, which is to the Stores what the store is to the individual. It is a gigantic trading and manufacturing concern, owned exclusively by the Stores, producing and purveying the goods they require, and paying its profits to them again as a dividend on purchases. Thus it will be seen that all the profits of manufacture, and of wholesale and retail trading, after paying a fixed interest on the capital (which also belongs to the members), are returned to each purchaser as a quarterly dividend on

the amount of his purchases. He therefore gets his goods at the actual cost price. The English and Scottish Wholesales have a capital of £2,273,916, and a turnover of £35,744,069. Consumers' Co-operation is in complete consonance with the principles of Socialism, and is the only form of Socialism by private enterprise of which modern Socialists can wholly approve. It has recently made great progress on the Continent.

The second form of Co-operation, the self-governing workshop, where the capital is (or rather purports to be) owned by the workers is a very different matter. In the first place it is a singularly unsuccessful form of industrial organisation: only here and there have productive co-operative societies had a long life and any commercial success. Secondly, it is hardly ever true to type. The capital is not in fact owned by the workers in any large proportion. It is usually supplied by Consumers Co-operative Societies, or benevolent private persons. Thirdly, it is not in accordance with the principles of Socialism: it does not abolish the profits on capital but merely, in theory, distributes them amongst a number of workpeople who are also small capitalists, and in fact allocates them in the main to outside shareholders, exactly as is done by an ordinary joint-stock company.

The third form of co-operation, mainly confined to agriculture, prevails in countries where small farming is the rule, such as Germany, Denmark, and of late years Ireland. Co-operative Societies for making butter, selling eggs, buying manures and machinery, and

providing capital (credit banks) all for their members who are usually small owners or occupiers, have proved immensely successful abroad and are being established in England. Agriculture is an anomaly amongst industries, and this form of Co-operation has little field outside it. These societies also adopt the Rochdale plan of dividends on business transacted for the members. They have come to stay; they are not in opposition to the principles of Socialism, but they deal with a form of industry to which Socialism as at present worked out, does not exactly apply.

In Belgium, as explained elsewhere, Co-operation and Socialism have always gone hand in hand. In England the two movements have not closely touched, but approaches have been made recently (1913) for closer co-ordination between the Co-operators and the Labour Party. The International Socialist Conference of 1910, as already mentioned, after a special discussion, expressed its cordial approval of Consumers' Co-operation, and it is clear that this form of co-operation will find an important place in the future organisation of society.

4. The most striking feature of recent economic history is the continuation of the movement which began with the industrial revolution. Through this process the small producer was superseded by the capitalist, the smaller capitalist by the larger. And now the single capitalist is being absorbed by the company, an increasing proportion of the world's business being on so vast a scale that only a great company can provide the requisite capital and organisation; whilst

in the large companies, in case they cannot drive each other out of the field, there is a marked tendency to bring about some form of combination. In all this we see a great constructive process going on as the result of the inherent laws of industrial development.

The movement is active in our own country ; but it is far surpassed in magnitude and activity in the United States of America, where it is favoured by special circumstances. Under the protective system the economic development of America has proceeded without interference by the industrial power of England. It is a self-contained and self-sufficing continent with a vast area and enormous natural resources. The people have not such a wide variety of political, social, literary, and artistic interests as have the ruling classes of England, and have therefore been all the more keenly engaged in the exploitation of the new world that lay open to them. Capitalism in America has shown an energy, acuteness, and fertility of resource which are unparalleled. But in the various departments of industry the chiefs have discovered that competition may be suicidal and mutually destructive, and have therefore found it expedient to arrange with each other for the regulation of production, of prices, and wages. Hence the trusts, or great combinations of capitalists, which now confront American society and the American Republic, and which, as the latest development of capitalism, are well calculated to excite scientific curiosity in every country.

The trust system is, however, by no means confined to America. A like organisation under the name of

cartels or syndicates is, in proportion to the size of the country, almost equally strong in Germany. In various forms, more or less disguised, it is spreading in England, Austria, and other lands. It may be regarded as an inevitable stage in the natural history of capitalism.

Thus far have we come through the natural growth of the company. If we consider the nature and development of the company, we shall find that it is not entirely undemocratic. The directors are, in principle at least, elected and removable by the shareholders. And as the shares are open for purchase by any one, a porter may be a shareholder in the railway company of which he is a servant, with, so far, a voice in the management. But in point of fact the companies are owned and controlled by the capitalist classes, and are a development of capitalism. The directors are usually large capitalists. Their aim is to produce dividends. The relation of the management to the employees cannot have much of a kindly, human, and personal element.

On the other hand, the development of the company in a large degree means that the real administration of the economic movement is passing out of the hands of the owner of capital as such. The companies are for the most part managed by paid officials, who may or may not have a substantial holding in the capital: the capitalists do not really manage the companies in which their capital is embarked. Generally speaking, the large company is more amenable to social regu-

lation than a number of small enterprises. And now we see that the natural development of the company has prepared the whole organisation necessary for its complete transference to social ownership and control, if such a step were deemed advisable. A great railway or system of water-supply can be transferred to State or municipal control without any particular change in the organisation by which it is worked. In fact, capitalism has prepared or is preparing the mechanism by which it may be superseded. It has done its work so thoroughly that it has been rendering even itself superfluous. In America, where the industrial development is more recent, the founders of the great corporations still to a large degree continue to control them. Yet we can see how the constructive talent they have so marvellously shown has paved the way for social control when the time may come for it.

5. But the greatest force in the social evolution of the present time consists of the human beings who are most directly interested in it—the modern democracy. This democracy is marked by a combination of characteristics which are new to history. It is being educated and enlightened in the school and by the cheap press ; it is being drilled and organised in large factories, in the national armies, by vast popular demonstrations, in the gigantic electoral struggles of the time. Thus it is becoming conscious of its enormous power, and able to make use of it. It is becoming conscious also of its unsatisfactory social and economic position. The democracy which is

growing to be the master-force of the civilised world is still for the most part economically a proletariat dependent on precarious wage-labour. While they are resolved to proceed with the consummation of the political change which is involved in the establishment of democracy, their goal is an economic transformation. But the inevitable process of concentration of industrial operations already referred to is entirely against the continuance or restoration of the small producer. Such efforts of continuance or restoration are reactionary: they are economically unsound and must fail. The economic transformation must be sought in the application of the principle of association to the large industry.

6. We are thus brought to the conclusion that the competitive system, with precarious wage-labour as the lot of the vast majority of the people, is not a suitable and adequate form for the social development of the future. The competitive system has led to great strikes, which have been the cause of widespread misery, almost as grievous as the suffering endured during the worst campaigns under the old style of warfare. It has led to great commercial and industrial crises, which have scattered over the civilised world panic and ruin, followed by long-continued stagnation and depression. Thus anarchy, waste, and starvation have been its too frequent attendants, while the normal position of the workmen under it has been precarious and unworthy of free, enlightened men. England has had less reason than most countries to regret the pre-

valence of competition, for her industrial supremacy has generally left her victor in the struggle, and she has hitherto looked forward to widening markets as the solution of her economic troubles. But the rapid development of Germany and America may teach us that our industrial position is not so secure against assault as it used to be, and that we may in future suffer the bitter experience of the vanquished, which we have so long inflicted on others. And we may thus learn that reason and law should control industry and commerce as well as other spheres of human activity.

In America the development of the trust system is only another proof of the inadequacy of the competitive system. The supporters of the trusts maintain with very good show of reason that unregulated competition is harmful and may be ruinous to all concerned, and that they can maintain fair prices, pay fair wages, and secure a fair return to capital only by mutual arrangement among the producers. But the system obviously involves the serious objection, that the great industrial chiefs who organise and direct the trusts are thereby constituted supreme judges of their own interests and of the economic interests of the whole American people; that such combinations form a huge monopoly in so many of the leading articles of consumption, and establish an economic, social, and political power which may be a danger to American society. In short, we are driven to the result that while competition has been hurtful or ruinous to those

engaged in it, the now prevailing system of regulation by capitalism in its own interests is a serious danger to the whole people. There is only one right way out of such a dilemma. A return to the competitive method is neither possible nor desirable. Monopoly is incompatible with freedom. The only course for peoples who desire to be free is to adopt some form of social ownership and control. This appears to be the lesson taught us by the development of the trusts.

7. The success of Socialism greatly depends on the realisation of the two ideals, which may be regarded as the main pillars of the theory when applied to practice. These are:—

(a) The normal working day: the general reduction of the working day to eight hours in the immediate future, and eventually to a shorter time. Such a desirable change would be better accomplished by voluntary agreement under the pressure of public opinion than by legislation; but it would be better made by legislation than by the cruel and clumsy method of strikes.

(b) A remuneration which will ensure a suitable standard of living; in other words, the means of a normal development. A reasonable standard of living, the competent means of a normal development have been determined by science and are no longer a matter of utopian guess-work. A fairly definite minimum of fresh air, food, clothing, house comfort, recreation, and of satisfaction for the affections associated with wife

and children, constitute the rational needs of the average man. This is the moral and scientific basis of a rational system of distribution. The competitive wage determined by the Iron Law of Wages of the older economists should be superseded by a remuneration embodying this principle. It is the Daily Bread of the Lord's Prayer as definable by modern science.

The effect of the Socialist theory on these points is to remove two vital interests of man from the range of competition, and to place them on an ethical and scientific basis under social control. In so far as the working day of the employees of government, municipalities, co-operative societies, companies, and private firms approximates to eight hours, in so far as the wage paid by them secures to the workers a fit and reasonable standard of living, in so far is something of the socialistic ideal realised. Every one conversant with the history of the last sixty years knows how vast an improvement has been made in both respects.

We have thus reviewed the great social and economic movements of our time. How shall we interpret them? There are two main tendencies: one toward control of the industry by the people in state, municipality, and co-operative society; the other towards the consolidation of capitalism in trusts. In both we see plan, constructive and organising intelligence, the limitation of the anarchy of competition. But while the former makes for the public good, the latter results in overgrown wealth.

The portentous growth of the trusts is indeed an

object-lesson to the world. It proves that Socialism is not an idle question. It is a problem forced upon the present generation by the most gigantic industrial movement of recent times. All good citizens, all friends of righteousness and of progress, all inquirers worthy of the name, are under an imperative obligation to understand the true inwardness of the subject.

In considering the question of the practicability of a rational Socialism, let us remember that it only proposes to accomplish on a wider scale and for a more enlightened time a task analogous to that undertaken by the guilds for the mediæval world. The guild was an organisation for the promotion of the common interests of the workers at a time when law and order were not sufficiently established by strong central governments, and when the present distinction between labourer and capitalist had not declared itself. It was a fairly equitable organisation of an industry which was local and associated with city life, and which worked with a very limited and undeveloped technique. Socialism proposes an equitable organisation of industry for the modern world with its enormous mechanical development and large industry, under a democracy guided by science and professing allegiance to the highest moral ideals.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

It is clear that socialistic theories have made a wide and deep impression on the opinion of most countries of the civilised world. Socialism has been a standing challenge to the economic theories so long prevalent: it is a protest against the existing social-economic order; and as such it has been discussed on every platform, in all journals, and we may venture to say in every private gathering, with some comprehension of its nature and aims. Whatever the issue may be, it is very improbable that reasonable men can ever again regard the competitive system of economics with the same satisfaction as formerly. The mere fact that we can survey and analyse great ideas and institutions with critical objectiveness is a proof that we are looking back upon them, and that we have already so far left them behind on the onward march of progress. In countries where the socialistic theory is accepted in its entirety only by a few, it has nevertheless effected a great change in opinion. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the orthodox political economy, if it exist anywhere, survives only in old books and in the minds

of a diminishing band of doctrinaires. Friends of the existing order would now almost have us believe that the old competitive political economy never existed at all, which at least may be taken as a sufficient proof that its days are numbered.

Socialism is still coloured to its detriment by excessive loyalty to Marx, and the views of Marx were shaped by a time which has passed away. In the early forties, when the system of Marx was taking form, idealism had declined, and a very crude dogmatic materialism was in the ascendant. The very active speculation which had previously been directed to the ideal, attempted to work in the real and material without due preparation on a very inadequate basis of facts—with strange results! A fierce revolutionary spirit, which in the circumstances must be regarded as very natural, was preparing for the troubles of 1848. Ricardo, a man singularly deficient in the requisite historical and philosophical training, was the reigning power in economic theory. Under such influences the views of Marx were prematurely shaped into the dogmatic system which we know. He continued to hold and develop them without any real attempt at self-criticism in riper years, and he, an exile living in England, forcibly urged them from his study on the Socialist groups and parties of the Continent.

In his Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx declares that the proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains. It has been the unfortunate destiny of himself and his school to forge new chains for the working class

in the shape of dogmatic materialism, a rigid and abstract collectivism, and ultra-revolutionary views which still hamper it in the task of emancipation. The promptitude with which the emancipators of the human race have provided new chains is strange enough. Still stranger is the readiness men have shown in putting them on! Indeed the followers of Marx have gone farther in this way than their chief.

An ill service was done to the working class by utterances on marriage and the family, which gave the ruling classes who keep the workers out of their rights the plea that they were maintaining the fundamental principles of social order. The abstract collectivism which is the prominent economic feature of the Marxian school suggests two serious doubts: if by a revolutionary act they took the delicate and complex social mechanism to pieces, whether they would be able to put it together again; and if they did succeed in putting it together, whether it would work. The same devotion to abstract collectivism has made it difficult for his followers to draw up a reasonable agrarian policy suitable to the peasantry. Their hostility to religion, expressed most freely in the early years of the agitation in Germany and elsewhere, has been a serious hindrance to their progress, both among Catholics and Protestants, especially the former.

Thus in many directions their propaganda has been an obstacle to their success in their proper task of emancipating the working class, and it has at the same time been a hindrance to the peaceful solution of the

great struggle. The great central problem has been confused by side issues and irrelevant matter. We can best show how tragic has been the confusion of parts and of issues by reference to religion. Love, brotherhood, mutual service, and peace are most prominent notes in the teaching of Jesus. They must be woven into the moral texture of Socialism if it is to succeed and be a benefit to the world. If Marx and his school had merely attacked what we may call the official and professional representatives of the Christian Church, they would have been within their rights. As it has been, the religion of love, brotherhood, and mutual service has officially become part of a government system by which the hereditary oppressors of the poor in Germany and elsewhere claim to continue their unblest work. The professional representatives of Christ's teaching support and encourage them in it, and so make themselves accomplices, not only in the oppression and degradation of the poor, but in war and militarism, and in all the waste, extravagance, and misdirection of class government. How many of them are conscious of the profound incongruity of their positions?

In the history of human thought opinion has hardened often prematurely into dogma, and dogma has usually degenerated into pedantry. Dogma has often been simply the expression of egotism, which had not the saving grace either to be loyal to truth or really helpful to mankind. So it has been in the development of Socialism. Its champions have too frequently failed

in keeping a single eye and mind on a task which requires insight, self-restraint, loyalty, and consistency, as well as energy and enthusiasm. A great cause demands the best and noblest service. Such a cause as Socialism demands from its supporters the self-denial which will suppress the many phases of an excessive, disorderly, morbid, and malignant egotism that has done so much harm in the past—no easy task for human nature.

The goal of the whole movement is to acquire possession of the means of production. Such a conception lays excessive stress on the dead and passive instruments of labour. It ascribes too much importance to the economic factor. The economic factor is most important, but the cardinal thing in Socialism is the living and active principle of association, and the essential thing for the working man to acquire is the capacity and habit of association. In other words, the motive power of Socialism must be found in the mind and character of men who are guided by science and inspired by the highest ethical ideals, and who have attained to the insight and capacity requisite for associated action.

But in making those criticisms let us remember that the social democracy is still in its youth. The Socialist parties of most European countries have sprung up since 1870. They have had, through much labour and tribulation, to shape their organisation, principles, and policy. How natural it was that they should follow a master mind like Marx, who had

manfully and unsparingly devoted his entire life to their cause! And how natural too that they should have no trust in other classes, and refuse all manner of compromise with them!

And we should fail in an accurate presentation of our subject if we did not emphasise the fact that the present position of labour is the result of a vast effort of practical and constructive work. In all departments labour had to start not many years ago from the very beginning. The Socialist parties with their programmes represent a strenuous and painful process of thought and organisation. Through the trade unions the ill-informed, untrained, suspicious, and turbulent democracy of labour has been drilled into habits of common action. How much of enthusiasm and high principle, of persevering toil and patient attention to detail has been put into the co-operative movement!

There are now most significant symptoms that all the diverse forms of working-class activity are being consolidated into one great movement. We have seen how in Belgium trade unions and co-operative societies work in harmony with the Socialist party. So they also do in Denmark. The same thing is happening in England. In Italy the three classic forms of labour activity, Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and the Friendly Society, have come to an understanding which is inspired by Socialist aims. Generally we may say that the tendency in all countries is for organised labour to become socialistic.

While it has hitherto been the too general tendency

of Socialists to distrust and oppose the existing system of government and administration; they are now in point of fact taking a larger part in the work of State and commune. Such work, like all other practical work, will serve as a wholesome discipline for parties whose energies have been too much expended and wasted in sterile opposition and unprofitable criticism. And it may lead them to see that the antagonism of other parties may be due to honest ignorance or well-justified doubt. Even in Germany Bebel admitted that much intercourse in the Reichstag and its committees between Social Democrats and the other parties has led to a friendlier feeling among them. But the main point that we wish to bring out here is that organised and progressive labour in all countries and in all its departments, trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., is being more and more inspired by socialistic aims, and tends more and more to form a solid and organic movement on practical lines. How far the movement may in the future conform or attain to the collectivist type remains to be seen.

We must particularly emphasise the fact that nothing adverse to a reasonable patriotism, to religion, marriage, or the family, is now found in the programmes of parties or in the resolutions of congresses. The International and the Socialist Parties clearly recognise that their task is the emancipation of labour, and that it is of an economic and political nature. Those who mix up this great problem with questions of religion and marriage do so on their own responsibility. They have

no right to speak on behalf of Socialism, and have no influence or authority beyond what they may personally possess.

We may best consider the growing influence of socialistic ideas on current opinion under the following heads :—

1. On the theory of the State's relation to labour.—The attitude of most governments to the organised socialism is naturally unfriendly; but the accepted view of the relation of the State to the working and suffering classes has marvellously changed in recent years. Whereas not many years ago the policy and principles of government took little account of the masses of the people, it is now a recognised duty of the State to care for them. So complete has the transformation been, that it will soon require a considerable knowledge of history to realise it, for the times when the claims of the lower orders were ignored are already beginning to pass out of the memory of the younger and most active portion of the community.

2. The relation of political economy to Socialism.—We have already referred to the influence of social problems on the classical political economy of this country. The development of J. S. Mill's economic views from loyal adherence to Ricardo, to a reasonable Socialism, cannot be regarded as representative, seeing that he has so entirely outstripped his scholars. In recent important works on economics we see indeed only a moderate recognition of the new influences, but they do not command the assent of the public as for-

merly, the result being that English Political Economy remains in a most unsettled and unsatisfactory condition.

Here again Germany leads the way. The Socialism of the chair is not to any large extent really socialistic. But it includes among its representatives eminent professors and other economists, who recognise the historical and ethical sides of political economy, who go far in giving labour problems their due place in the treatment of their subject, and who have made most important concessions to the socialistic criticism of the existing society and the prevalent political economy. One of the most notable of recent German economists and sociologists, Albert Schäffle, was more than historical; his great work *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers* was a construction of society from the evolution point of view. In the same work he even expressed his conviction that 'the future belongs to the purified Socialism,' though later utterances made his attitude somewhat doubtful. However that may be, he has brought to the study of social problems a combination of learning, of philosophic insight directed by the best light of his time, and of sympathy inspired by the cause of the poor man, which is not equalled by any living economist. No great recent economist has been so powerfully influenced by socialist speculation.

3. The relation of the Christian Church to Socialism. —It is a most serious mistake to suppose that there can be any real antagonism between the ethical and

spiritual teaching of Christianity and the principles of Socialism rightly understood. The difficulty is how to reconcile the prevalent competitive system with any reasonable conception of Christian ethics. We can now see that Christianity was a strong assertion of the moral and spiritual forces against the struggle for existence, which had assumed such a hard, cruel, and vicious form in ancient civilisation and in the Roman world. The Christian Church did much to soften and then to abolish slavery and serfdom, into which the peoples defeated in the struggle for existence had been forced. A right comprehension of the Christian life and of the spirit and tendency of Christian history should show that the Church should also use its influence against the continuance of the struggle for existence in the competitive system, and in favour of the less fortunate who in the course of that form of struggle have been driven to precarious wage-labour as their only means of livelihood.

Some of the prominent spokesmen of the Church have clearly seen that the competitive system is not consistent with Christian teaching. As we have already seen, Maurice and Kingsley denounced the Manchester school, started the Christian Socialist movement of 1848, and gave a very considerable impetus to co-operation.

The participation of the Catholic Church of Germany in the social question dates from the period of the Lassalle agitation. In 1863 Döllinger recommended that the Church should intervene in the movement, and Bishop von Ketteler of Mainz lost no time in expressing sympathy with Lassalle. In a treatise

entitled *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christenthum* (1864) Ketteler criticised the liberalism of the Manchester school in substantially the same terms as Lassalle, and recommended the voluntary formation of productive associations with capital supplied by the faithful. In 1868 the Catholic Socialism of Germany took a more practical form: it started an organ of its own and began to organise unions for the elevation of the working men. The principles of the movement were with some precision expounded by Canon Moufang in an electoral address at Mainz in 1871, and by the writers in their organ.

All agree in condemning the principles of the liberalism of that day, especially in its economic aspects, as destructive of society and disadvantageous to working men, who, under the pretence of freedom, are exposed to all the precariousness and anarchy of competition and sacrificed to the Iron Law of Wages. Self-help as practised in the Schulze-Delitzsch schemes is also considered to be no sure way of deliverance. The general remedy is union on Catholic principles, especially the formation of trade-guilds suited to modern exigencies, which some of their leaders would make a compulsory measure enforced by the State. The views of Moufang, which are most definite, may thus be summarised: legal protection for the workers, especially as regards hours of labour, wages, the labour of women and children, sanitation; subventions for workmen's productive associations; lightening of taxes on labour; control of the moneyed and speculating interests.

The Socialist activity of the Protestant Church of Germany dates from 1878. The most important literary product of the movement is a work by Pastor Todt entitled *Der radikale deutsche Socialismus und die christliche Gesellschaft*. In this work Todt condemns the economics of liberalism as unchristian, and seeks to show that the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity are entirely Scriptural, as are also the Socialist demands for the abolition of private property and of the wage system, that the labourer should have the full produce of his labour, and that labour should be associated. The chief leader of the movement was the Court preacher Stöcker, the head also of the anti-Semitic agitation, which is largely traceable to economic causes. Stöcker founded two associations—a central union for social reform, consisting of members of the middle classes interested in the emancipation of labour, and a Christian social working men's party. The former has had considerable success, especially among the Lutheran clergy. The movement met with the most strenuous resistance from the Social Democratic party, and was greatly hampered by the anti-Socialist law of 1878.

In recent years all the sections of the Christian Church in England have felt the influence of the democratic movement, and have shown a commendable interest in social questions. Among Catholics the most notable representative of this new spirit was Cardinal Manning. The Report on Socialism made to the Pan-Anglican Conference, which met at Lambeth in

1888, by the committee appointed to deal with the question, was also a remarkable sign of the times. The Christian Social Union, formed in 1889 by members of the Church of England, has done good service. Its aim is to study 'how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.' The late Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, took a leading part in founding and guiding it. It is open to Conservatives and Liberals, Socialists and non-Socialists, who accept its main aim, as above stated.

The sympathetic attitude towards labour shown at the Lambeth Conference of 1888 was maintained also at the Conferences of 1897 and 1908. Very noteworthy was the favourable reception given to socialistic expressions of opinion at the Pan-Anglican Congress which preceded the Conference of 1908, though it would obviously be a mistake to assume that it meant the acceptance of any definite collectivist economic creed. A like sympathetic feeling has been shown in many nonconformist quarters. Dr. Clifford and the Rev. R. J. Campbell are Socialists.

There is, however, one noteworthy difference between the attitude of organised Christianity to the Socialist movement in England and on the Continent. In Germany, Austria, Belgium, and elsewhere, the Socialism of the Churches is the rival, and therefore the enemy, of Social-Democracy. The Christian Trade Unions especially are hostile to the Socialist Trade Unions, and refuse to co-operate with them in labour disputes.

In fact, much of the social activity of the Continental Churches is an attempt to provide the workmen with a counter attraction to the benefits provided by Social Democracy. In England, happily, there is none of this spirit of discord. The Socialism of the Churches here, whether Anglican or Nonconformist, is in cordial alliance with the forces of labour. Numbers of the clergy, Anglican and Nonconformist, are members of one or other of the Socialist Societies, and many of the members of the Church Socialist League, an Anglican organisation, are more Marxian and extreme than the generality of lay Socialists.

Socialism rests on the great ideals of freedom and justice, of brotherhood and mutual service. It may well claim to be the heir of the great ideals of the greatest races. The Hebrew ideal of truth, righteousness, and mercy, which on its ethical side was widened and deepened into the Christian ideals of love, brotherhood, and mutual service, and the Greek ideal of the true, the good, and the beautiful, all may and should be accepted by Socialism, and they should be supplemented by the Roman conceptions of law, order, and continuity, but with far wider aims and meanings. In its law of mutual service, by which it at once asserted the interdependence of the members of the social organism and a profound conception of social duty, Christianity went deeper, both in philosophy and practice, than the French Revolution with its watchwords of liberty, equality, and fraternity. All these ideals, though not seldom abused and discredited in the rough school of

human experience, are in their essence profoundly true and real, and they all meet and are summed up in a worthy conception of the great socialistic ideal.

This great ideal remains, therefore, as a far-shining goal to provoke and encourage the endeavours of men to attain it. We cannot lower it, but we should be grateful for every sincere attempt to reach it, for every successful step towards it. For the rise and growth of Socialism a lower and, as some would reckon, a more solid foundation is all that we need. The necessary minimum is an enlightened self-interest. Socialism does not aim at the extinguishing or superseding of the self-regarding principle—that is impossible and absurd. It seeks to regulate it, to place it under social guidance and control. When and so far as the mass of the people in any particular country and throughout the world gain a moderate, rational, and enlightened view of their real needs and interests, then and so far will Socialism tend to be realised. While the elect souls have been and are ready to go far in deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice, nothing more is demanded of the average mass of mankind than to learn to understand their true interests. On this prosaic basis much has already been done.

To use the words of John Milton, it was a 'strenuous liberty' which was cherished and maintained by our Puritan forefathers, the fathers and founders of the American Commonwealth. We know with what solemnity and earnestness, with what gravity, deliberation, and foresight they entered on the long struggle against Stuart tyranny. If the Americans and we are to

succeed in the coming struggle against plutocracy, an abundant measure of the high and virile qualities which characterised their forefathers and ours will be needed.

We believe that the transition to a reasonable Socialism will be marked by a long and testing process of social selection. From the beginning of the movement socialist theories have been subjected to the tests of discussion and of experience. Socialist parties have also undergone very severe trial in debate, organisation, and action. Trade unions and labour parties have been obliged to go through a very hard course of discipline and of suffering.

The transition to Socialism can be made only by increasing and widening adaptation to the higher conditions of intelligence, character, and organisation. Once made, the change to Socialism will place men in a higher moral and economic environment. As we saw, two vital human interests will under Socialism be no longer subject to the conditions of competition, the working day and the 'daily bread.' Every able man will be under obligation to perform reasonable service for a competent livelihood ; but beyond this his time and faculties will be his own. In this better environment men will find the rights and the opportunities which will give them the basis and scope for a better life. There will be corresponding duties and obligations. And for those who, from vices and defects of temperament or of habit, are not disposed to fulfil such obligations proper measures of social discipline will

need to be devised. The weak and disabled will receive suitable guidance and support. But we may be assured that all normally constituted men will be ready to respond to all natural and reasonable calls.

Social service will be the main field for emulation, rivalry, and ambition, and here the struggle for a higher life may be carried on under the better conditions which will prevail. We may call it competition if we will, but it will be competition on terms that differ entirely from those which exist under the present system. It will be competition for social distinction and rewards. The reticence, secrecy, and hypocrisy, the jealousy and detraction, which are now so common will pass away. Men will be able to live sincerely and openly. Their record will be an open and public one, which their fellow-citizens will be able to read and estimate fairly. And we should avoid the grave mistake of confounding the human qualities that make for success in the present competition with the qualities that would meet with approval under the new system. The qualities that command success at present we all know. The qualities that would meet with favour under a reasonable Socialism will be those which answer to the great ideals we have spoken of, and particularly those which fit men for the best social service.

The waste and demoralisation, the injustice and cruelty, which are so rife under the present system will pass away. But the new era will work for much more than the mere abolition of evil. It will make for the positive and integral development of the highest human

life. Natural capacity in all the forms that are consistent with social good will have free scope for unfolding itself. We may believe that in the majority of lives the exercise of natural endowment will be in direct conformity with the requirements of social service. It will obviously be for the good of society that each will do the work for which he is best fitted. Spiritual teaching, scientific discovery, literature, art, and music will all be duly prized and rewarded as modes of social service. But if the aspirant wishes to do his share of social work in the form of some ordinary craft, in order to devote his ample leisure to a special pursuit entirely of his own choosing, he will be free to do so. In this matter freedom will be an interest of the first order.

The lesson taught by much recent experience and the goal of many convergent tendencies seem undoubtedly to be, that society should control industry in its own interest. An industry carried on by free associated men would be in perfect accord with other forms and methods of progress, ethical, political, and economic. The purified Socialism may be regarded as the co-ordination and consummation of every other form of human progress, inasmuch as it applies to the use of man all the factors of scientific, mechanical, and artistic development in harmony with the prevailing political and ethical ideas.

It is therefore a most desirable form of organisation. And many and increasing indications show that it is practicable. It is a type of organisation which may take shape in a thousand diverse ways, according to

the differences in historic conditions and in national temperament. Within its limits, as we have seen, there will be reasonable scope for individual development and for every variety of liking and capacity consistent with the well-being of others; but exceptional talent and the generous enthusiasm which is its fitting accompaniment will more and more find their proper field in the service of society, an ideal which is already largely realised in the democratic state.

In a rational Socialism we may therefore see a long and widening avenue of progress, along which the improvement of mankind may be continued in a peaceful and gradual, yet most hopeful, sure, and effective way. Such a prospect offers the best remedy for the apathy and frivolity, cynicism and pessimism, which are now so prevalent; and it is the most effectual counteractive to restlessness, discontent, and all the evils and excesses of the revolutionary spirit. Under it the social forces will consciously and directly work for social ideals. The ideal will be made real, and might and right will be reconciled. The real forces which operate in modern history will be shaped by beneficent ideals, till, as Tennyson sings,

Each man find his own in all men's good,
And all men work in noble brotherhood.

May we not with Saint-Simon hope that the golden age is not behind but before us?

APPENDICES

I

AFTER the Revolution of 1830 the Saint-Simonists were referred to in the French Chamber of Deputies as a sect who advocated community of goods and of women. The following communication in their defence was addressed to the Chamber by Bazard and Enfantin, October 1, 1830:—

‘The Saint-Simonists undoubtedly do profess ideas on the future of property and of women which are special to themselves, and which are connected with views entirely new and special on religion, authority, liberty—in short, on all the great problems which are now being agitated over the whole of Europe with so much disorder and violence; but these ideas are very different from the opinions which men attribute to them.

‘The system of community of goods is always understood to mean equal division among all the members of society, either of the means of production or of the fruit of the labour of all.

‘The Saint-Simonists reject this equal division of property, which in their eyes would constitute a greater violence, a more revolting injustice, than the unequal division, which was originally effected by force of arms, by conquest.

‘For they believe in the natural inequality of men, and regard this inequality as the very basis of association, as the indispensable condition of social order.

‘They reject the system of community of goods, for this would be a manifest violation of the first of all the

moral laws, which it is their mission to teach, and which enjoins that in the future each man should be placed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his work.

‘But in virtue of this law they demand the abolition of all the privileges of birth without exception, and consequently the destruction of the right of inheritance, the greatest of those privileges, which at present comprehends them all, and of which the effect is to leave to chance the distribution of social privileges amongst the small number of those who can lay claim to them, and to condemn the most numerous class to depravation, ignorance, and misery.

‘They demand that all the instruments of labour, land, and capital, which at present form the divided stock of private proprietors, should be exploited by associations with a suitable gradation of functions, so that the task of each may be the expression of his capacity, and his riches the measure of his services.

‘The Saint-Simonists do not attack the institution of private property, except in so far as it consecrates for some the impious privilege of idleness—that is to say, of living on the labour of others; except as it leaves to the accident of birth the social status of individuals.

‘Christianity has delivered women from slavery, but it has nevertheless condemned them to an inferior position, and in Christian Europe we still see them everywhere deprived of religious, political, and civil rights.

‘The Saint-Simonists announce their final liberation, their complete emancipation, but they do not aim at abolishing the sacred law of marriage proclaimed by Christianity; on the contrary, they desire to fulfil this law, to give it a new sanction, to add to the authority and inviolability of the union which it consecrates.

‘Like Christians they demand that a single man be united to a single woman; but they teach that the wife should become the equal of the husband, and that, according to the special grace with which God has endowed her sex, she should be associated in the exercise of the triple function of religion, the State, and the family, so that

the social individual, which hitherto has been the man only, may henceforward be man and woman.

‘The religion of Saint-Simon seeks only to abolish the shameful traffic, the legal prostitution, which, under the name of marriage, at present so frequently consecrates the unnatural union of self-sacrifice and egotism, of intelligence and ignorance, of youth and decrepitude.

‘Such are the most general ideas of the Saint-Simonists on the changes which they demand in the arrangements of property and in the social condition of women.’

II

PROGRAMME OF THE SOCIALISTIC WORKING MEN'S PARTY OF GERMANY

GOtha, *May* 1875.

I. Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture, and as useful work in general is possible only through society, so to society, that is to all its members, the entire product belongs; while as the obligation to labour is universal, all have an equal right to such product, each one according to his reasonable needs.

In the existing society the instruments of labour are a monopoly of the capitalist class; the subjection of the working class thus arising is the cause of misery and servitude in every form.

The emancipation of the working class demands the transformation of the instruments of labour into the common property of society and the co-operative control of the total labour, with application of the product of labour to the common good and just distribution of the same.

The emancipation of labour must be the work of the

labouring class, in contrast to which all other classes are only a reactionary mass.

II. Proceeding from these principles, the socialistic working men's party of Germany aims by all legal means at the establishment of the free state and the socialistic society, to destroy the Iron Law of Wages by abolishing the system of wage-labour, to put an end to exploitation in every form, to remove all social and political inequality.

The socialistic working men's party of Germany, though acting first of all within the national limits, is conscious of the international character of the labour movement, and resolved to fulfil all the duties which this imposes on the workmen, in order to realise the universal brotherhood of men.

In order to prepare the way for the solution of the social question, the socialistic working men's party of Germany demands the establishment of socialistic productive associations with State help under the democratic control of the labouring people. The productive associations are to be founded on such a scale both for industry and agriculture that out of them may develop the socialistic organisation of the total labour.

The socialistic working men's party of Germany demands as the basis of the State:—

I. Universal, equal, and direct right of electing and voting, with secret and obligatory voting, of all citizens from twenty years of age, for all elections and deliberations in the State and local bodies. The day of election or voting must be a Sunday or holiday.

II. Direct legislation by the people. Questions of war and peace to be decided by the people.

III. Universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies.

IV. Abolition of all exceptional laws, especially as regards the press, unions, and meetings, and generally of all laws which restrict freedom of thought and inquiry.

V. Administration of justice by the people. Free justice.

VI. Universal and equal education by the State. Com-

pulsory education. Free education in all public places of instruction. Religion declared to be a private concern.

The socialistic working men's party demands within the existing society :

(1) Greatest possible extension of political rights and liberties in the sense of the above demands.

(2) A single progressive income-tax for State and commune, instead of the existing taxes, and especially of the indirect taxes that oppress the people.

(3) Unrestricted right of combination.

(4) A normal working-day corresponding to the needs of society. Prohibition of Sunday labour.

(5) Prohibition of labour of children, and of all women's labour that is injurious to health and morality.

(6) Laws for the protection of the life and health of workmen. Sanitary control of workmen's dwellings. Inspection of mines, of factories, workshops, and home industries by officials chosen by the workmen. An effective Employers' Liability Act.

(7) Regulation of prison labour.

(8) Workmen's funds to be under the entire control of the workmen.

III

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual

appropriation, in the form of rent of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labour, the idle class now living on the labour of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects.

The work of the Fabian Society takes, at present, the following forms:—

(1) Meetings for the discussion of questions connected with Socialism.

(2) The further investigation of economic problems, and the collection of facts contributing to their elucidation.

(3) The issue of publications containing information on social questions, and arguments relating to Socialism.

(4) The promotion of Socialist lectures and debates in other societies and clubs.

(5) The representation of the Society in public conferences and discussions on social questions.

IV

LIST OF GENERAL STRIKES

B.C. 494. Italy. Rome. Plebeians marched to the Sacred Mount. Complete victory. Syndicalists regard the success of the first recorded General Strike as a good augury.

1874. July. Spain. Alicante. 10,000 men. Object: Social Reconstruction. Suppressed by the Government.

1886. May. United States. 260,000 men. Object: Eight Hours Day. Led to the Chicago riots, and the execution of the leaders. Apparently without success.

1893. Belgium. A series of riots and conflicts with the police. Many people killed. Object: to gain Universal Suffrage. A success, though the plural vote reduced the value of the concession. Chamber adopted a scheme of reform by 119 votes to 14.

1897. Belgium. On Suffrage. A failure.

1902. February. Spain. Barcelona. Opposed by the Socialists. Suppressed after a week by the troops.

1902. April. Belgium. 350,000. Object: Franchise Reform. A failure.

1902. Switzerland. Geneva. Sympathy with dismissed tramway employees: complete strike for three days. Stopped at request of tramway men. Tramway strike lasted a fortnight and ended without redress of grievances.

1902. Sweden. Whole country, though not everywhere effective. Object: Universal Suffrage. Ceased on a favourable vote in Parliament. Partial success.

1903. January. Holland. Amsterdam Dockers and all Railway men. A brilliant victory.

1903. April. Holland. Against a Bill to make Railway strikes penal. A failure.

1903. October. Spain. Bilbao. 90,000 men. Begun

by miners against the Truck System : supported sympathetically by others. A complete success.

1904. April. Hungary. Railway men. Sudden stoppage. Suppressed by the Government calling out reserves.

1904. September. Italy (100 cities). Against use of troops in labour troubles. Succeeded on the 4th day.

1905. Norway and Sweden. At the separation from Norway, when there was talk of Swedish resistance by war, Trade Unionists of both countries threatened a General Strike. The occasion for it did not occur.

1905. October. Russia. Universal, beginning with Railways and including all trades and occupations. Object : to obtain a constitution. A complete success : constitution granted.

1906. December. Russia. During the Moscow insurrection ; lasted from 20th to 31st. Only partially effective : no result.

1906. May. France. Organised by the C.G.T. for an Eight Hours Day. Partial success. See p. 286.

1909. Spain. Catalonia. Against the calling out of reservists for the Melita Campaign. Became practically an insurrection and was suppressed by troops. Senor Ferrer of Barcelona was executed for alleged complicity.

1909. July. Sweden. A carefully organised strike for improved conditions of labour. For one week 86·97 per cent of the work-people were out on strike : for seven consecutive weeks over 50 per cent were out. The strike continued fourteen weeks.

1909. France. Postal and Telegraphic Strike in Paris : lasted a week. Subject : status of civil servants. Successful.

1910. March. United States. Philadelphia. Street car strike in February on wages and conditions : General Strike voted on March 4 ; abandoned March 27. Street car strikers accepted the company's terms.

1910. October. France. Railway Servants and Building Trade of Paris. Chief leaders arrested by Millerand, Minister of Public Works. Railway men called out for military service. Strike completely suppressed.

1912. January. United States. Cotton operatives at Lawrence, Mass. Object: to maintain existing rate of pay on reduction of hours. Only claim to be called 'General' that it was supported by syndicalists (the I.W.W.) and involved violence. A complete success.

1912. January. Australia, Brisbane. Forty-five unions struck to support the right of tramwaymen to wear the union badge: lasted from January 31 to March 6, and failed, but the Courts allowed the men's claim.

1913. August. Spain. Barcelona and elsewhere. Successful at Barcelona.

1913. August. Italy, Milan.

V

LABOUR PARTY ADMINISTRATIONS IN AUSTRALIA TO AUGUST 1913.

Commonwealth. April–August 1904; Hon. J. C. Watson.
November 1908–June 1909; Hon. A. Fisher. May
1910–June 1913; Hon. A. Fisher.

New South Wales. October 1911–Present time; Hon.
J. S. P. McGowen.

Victoria. Party never in office, but two Labour Members
joined the Ministry in 1900.

Queensland. July 1903–November 1907. A coalition
Government, Labour and others. February 1908–
Present time. A coalition Government, Labour
and others. Hon. J. Kidston, who became Premier
in January 1906, and again in February 1908, was
a member of the Labour Party when he took office.

South Australia. July 1905–June 1906; Hon. T. Price.
June 1910–February 1912; Hon. J. Verran.

West Australia. August 1904–October 1905; Hon. H.
Daglish. October 1911–Present time; Hon. J.
Scadden.

Tasmania. None.

VI

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIALISM

It is impossible within the available space to give a complete bibliography of Socialism, even of English books. All that can be said of the following list is that it includes the more important books on the subject.

I am indebted to Mr. B. M. Headicar, Librarian to the British Library of Political Science (London School of Economics), Clare Market, W.C., for much valuable assistance in its preparation. The Hutchinson Collection of books about Socialism in this Library is the most complete in England, and is available for any student or accredited person on application at the Library.

I have not included in my list any foreign books (with one exception), nor have I attempted to catalogue the numerous works dealing with the history of early Socialism to which reference is made in the first half of the book.

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